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57

THE SKY-GARMENT

A study of the Harappan religion
and its relation to the Mesopotamian and later Indian religions

By

ASKO PARPOLA

HELSINKI 1985

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Dedicated to my dear "Mary"

"Authority is generally indicated by clothing."
Langner 1965: 124.

"Priestly robes have a complex symbolism of their own in all religions. The ceremonial robes of the Chinese Emperors and officials were not only some of the most superb creations of art and craft but presented a symbolism of the entire universe and the power and perfection of Heaven, whose representative on the earth was the Emperor."
Cooper 1982: 124–126.

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Preface

This book has grown out of my paper "On the garment of the Harappan 'priest-king'" read at the 7th International Conference of the Association of South Asian Archaeologists in Western Europe, held at Brussels in July 1983. Further research enlarged the investigation to such an extent that the study exceeded the limits of a conference paper. I am therefore publishing only the summary of this book (the concluding chapter), with appropriate modifications, in the proceedings of the Brussels conference. Entitled "The Harappan 'priest-king's' robe and the Vedic tārpya garment: their interrelation and symbolism (astral and procreative)", this outline will appear in **South Asian Archaeology 1983**, edited by J.P. Schotsmans and Maurizio Taddei, in the series of the Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli. The gist of chapters 17 and 18 will be presented at the 8th International Conference of South Asian Archaeology at Århus in July 1985.

A glance at the table of contents will show that the Harappan "priest-king's" robe has prompted me to investigate a large range of topics. But since in this book I have restricted myself to the theme of the "sky-garment", many subjects will be dealt with only in passing. I trust, however, that even such brief discussions can perform a useful function in stimulating further research, for which there is much scope.

This book was written within a relatively short time, but its basic ideas stem from earlier preparatory research. That spadework was carried out during my many years with a research fellowship at the Academy of Finland; for this financial support I feel much obliged.

I want to thank warmly my friends who have read various drafts and offered constructive criticism and useful suggestions, especially my brother Prof. Simo Parpola (Helsinki), Dr Harry Falk (Freiburg), Mr Oppi Untracht, M.A. (Porvoo), Mr Harry Halén, Lic.Ph., (Helsinki) and Prof. Michael Witzel (Leiden). My thanks are also due to Mr Michael Vollar, B.A. (Hons.), and Mr Andrew Chesterman, M. Litt., for checking my English (they are

not responsible for the mistakes in my subsequent additions and revisions); to Mrs. Virpi Hämeen-Anttila for drawing figs. 5 d, h-k; 18 f-g; and to the Finnish Oriental Society for its readiness to publish this book.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the following for their permission to reproduce copyright pictorial material: Dr Bridget Allchin and Dr Raymond Allchin, Cambridge (fig. 26); American Oriental Society, New Haven (fig. 20); Prof. Pierre Amiet, Paris (fig. 4); Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi (figs. 1-3, 5, 6, 9b, 18a-g, 31, 32, 34); Cairo Museum, Cairo (fig. 13); Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (fig. 5a-c); Prof. George F. Dales and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (fig. 25); Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, Karachi (fig. 33); Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad, Baghdad & Berlin, FRG (fig. 10, 11); Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 12); Prof. James J. Preston, Oneonta, NY (fig. 24); Arthur Probsthain, London (frontispiece, figs. 1-3, 34); Prof. V.I. Sarianidi and VAAP, the USSR Copyright Agency, Moscow (figs.21-23); and the University of Chicago Press, Chicago (fig. 14).

Helsinki, 12th June 1985

Asko Parpola

P.S. This book was already written and prepared for printing, when I attended the 8th International Conference of South Asian Archaeology in July 1985, where a pre-print copy (chs. 1-20 & 22) was also displayed. Some new archaeological discoveries pertinent to the present study were reported at the conference, and the book prompted Professor Dieter Metzler to draw my attention to a relevant study by Robert Eisler that had escaped my attention. These and some other supplementary data that have cropped up since have been added in ch. 21 and taken into account in the bibliography and indexes.

1. The scope: Focus and wider issues

This study will focus on a detail of one single piece of Harappan art, the garment of the so-called "priest-king" (fig.1), and more particularly the symbolism of its decorations. The focus of the book, then, is rather narrow; but the scope is not. We are dealing with one of the best known and most cited objects of Harappan art - "perhaps the most famous of all finds from the Indus valley sites" (During Caspers 1976) - and in any case "by far the finest piece of statuary that has been found at Mohenjo-daro" (Mackay 1931: I,356). Not unexpectedly, the study of such an important object involves wider issues.

In the first place, if it is possible to penetrate into the inner meanings ascribed to the artistic symbols by the ancients, a piece of art can disclose information that may be difficult or impossible to obtain otherwise. This is particularly true in a case like this, as the Indus civilization itself does not offer us any unambiguous literary documents explaining these symbols. Many authors, for example, have accepted the conventional name "priest-king" for the statue. Most of them, it is true, have been careful enough to put the word in quotation marks and to add some qualification to this identification: "perhaps", "possibly" or even "probably". They have nevertheless expressed their belief in the potential importance of this statue for the understanding of an important subject about which we would like to know more, but which is fraught with great difficulties: the Harappan political organization. The uniformity and conservatism of the Harappan culture speaks for a concentration of power and for religious rule, while Mesopotamian and later Indian analogies also suggest theocracy (cf. Wheeler 1947: 74-77; Piggott 1952: 200 f.). Beyond such broad conclusions, it has been difficult to obtain any more detailed information. Besides, there are elements that give rise to doubt: if the Harappans were ruled by kings, where are their palaces? (Cf. Renfrew 1982. One is tempted to suggest in reply that the "citadel" complexes may have functioned as temple-palaces.) What would have been the status of a Harappan king? Is this in fact the statue of a priest-king?

In addition to the polity, a correct interpretation of this statue is likely to tell us something more about the religion of the Indus people. In fact, the primary reason why I myself took up this study was the astral symbolism of the garment's trefoil decorations assumed by C.J. Gadd (in Marshall 1931: I, 356 f. note 2), and the following proposal put forward in this connection by Ernest Mackay: "The comparatively close proximity of a people like the Sumerians, who paid such devoted attention to the stars, may well have influenced the religion of the Indus Valley peoples" (ibid.). I have wanted to verify this more than 50-year-old hypothesis, because the study of the Indus script has led me independently to the conclusion that the Harappans, like the Mesopotamians, worshipped astral divinities.

The fish-looking signs of the Indus script have a great frequency, and occur in contexts suggesting that they stand for names of deities: the Indus seals are likely to contain proper names and occupational titles, like the Mesopotamian seals, and divine names have formed an important element of proper names and priestly titles in Mesopotamia as well as later in India. An astral interpretation is made possible by the rebus principle of the earliest writing systems, which were morphemographic, and the homonymy between the Dravidian words **mīn** "fish" and **mīn** "star". (Cf. Parpola 1975.)

At the sixth International conference of South Asian archaeology in Cambridge in 1981, I presented some new iconographic evidence for this hypothesis (Parpola 1984). The present study continues the same line: it has been my purpose to cross-check in every possible way the hypothesis concerning the astral nature of the Harappan religion, which has emerged as one of the most important results of my studies of the Indus script and religion. At the same time, I try to carry those studies further; thus, as an integral part of the present investigation, I suggest a novel interpretation for an inscribed amulet from Mohenjo-daro and for some Indus pictograms. Unexpectedly, this approach has also lead to new insights into the prehistory of the Indian fire cult and liṅga worship.

2. Methodology

Let us now turn to the methods that can be used in the interpretation of Harappan art. Necessarily, the primary method is comparison. The decisive issue here is the relevance of the analogies adduced. There can be no doubt that the three most important sources for interpretation are (1) the internal parallels supplied by the Harappan civilization itself, (2) the parallels offered by ancient West Asia and (3) those provided by the later Indian civilization. A comparative study of the different contexts of a motif and its alternations with other motifs in Harappan art can provide useful clues to its meaning. The relevance of West Asia is due to its direct and/or indirect contact with the Harappans, while the later Indian tradition is likely to contain some survivals of the Harappan civilization.

The West Asian - Harappan analogies in art motifs have long remained unimpressive, but their number has recently been enlarged and reinforced by an internal coherence. The Near Eastern comparisons for the "priest-king's" garment in this study are not new, but especially those by A. Leo Oppenheim seem to have escaped the attention of indologists, including specialists in South Asian archaeology. Yet they supply precious clues and themselves strongly support the relevance of West Asian analogies to the interpretation of Harappan art and culture.

Many comparisons have been made between the Harappan and later Indian civilizations. While some fanatics especially in India have tried to force Vedic analogies to back up their preconceived claims of the Aryan identity of the Indus people, sober scholars have usually cited parallels either from post-Vedic, classical Hinduism, or from modern times. These comparisons with Hinduism have often been accepted, at least tentatively, with the result that the same identifications have been repeated from one book to another. During the past two decades, however, some alternative views have been put forward. On the one hand, authoritative critics have wished to discredit such comparisons altogether as invalid, primarily on account of the large time gap (cf. Sullivan 1964; Gonda 1965: 7-37). Yet, as Bridget Allchin (1983) has

pointed out, ethnological parallels some four millennia later may have preserved crucial information concerning the Indus civilization.

In this study I am adducing Indian analogies that have no doubt disappeared long ago from the ethnological record. The most crucial evidence is found in Vedic texts dating back some three thousand years. Those times were not so distant from the Indus civilization that had collapsed about one millennium earlier, if not later; and it must be borne in mind that the collapse of the cities probably did not cause any profound changes in the life of the Harappan villages (cf. Eliade 1969: 358; B. & R. Allchin 1982: 241). If the proposed analogies can be accepted as valid, this will have far-reaching consequences for the study of both the Vedic and the Harappan culture.

I have elsewhere argued that the Vedic literature is the outcome of two successive large-scale acculturations. First, the Harappans fused together with an early wave of Aryans calling themselves Dāsas, relatable to the Hissar-III culture of North-eastern Iran. Considerably later, part of these indianized Dāsas fused together with the newcoming Ṛgvedic Aryans. This is a complex issue, which in this context can be no more than mentioned: it implies relating the archaeological record to the linguistic and textual sources in a comprehensive way. (Cf. Parpola 1974; 1983; F.R. Allchin 1981; B. and R. Allchin 1982: 298 ff.) I would only like to add that I have here taken the opportunity of checking and carrying on this reconstruction, paying special attention to the hypothesis of significant Dravidian substratum influence upon early Indo-Aryan.

Let us now use these three main sources of comparative material in turn, searching analogies for the "priest-king's" garment first from the Harappan civilization itself.

3. The "priest-king" of Mohenjo-daro: internal reconstruction

The "priest-king" illustrated in fig. 1 has been discussed in detail by several authors, notably by Ernest Mackay (1931: I, 356 f. and 360 ff.; and 1948: 52 f.), John Marshall (1931: I, 44 and

54), Heinz Mode (1944: 46 ff.; 1959: 62), Stuart Piggott (1952: 148 f.), Mortimer Wheeler (1968: 86 ff.), Bridget and Raymond Allchin (1982: 203 f.), Elisabeth During Caspers (1976), and Alexandra Ardeleanu-Jansen (1984). In this chapter I shall discuss, on the basis of their findings, select points that I consider relevant here, adding comments of my own. Particular attention will be paid to arguments relating to the conventional title of the statue, "priest-king".

This statuette (excavation no. DK 1909), now in the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi (accession no. 50.852), is made of white steatite and represents the head and bust of a male person. The statue was "found jaggedly broken off about the waist. It is now mounted and its present hight is 17.7 cm." (During Caspers 1976.) That great importance was attached to it is suggested by the fact that its "general finish... is exceptionally good. Its surface is smooth and in some places almost polished. When it was taken from the earth it had a fine smooth coating over most parts of it, similar to that observed on some of the seals. This coating unfortunately disappeared on soaking the object to rid it of its salt" (Mackay 1931: I, 357).

The relatively small size is typical of the about one dozen broadly comparable stone statuettes that have been found at Mohenjo-daro, many of them unfortunately very fragmentary and/or badly weathered or unfinished (cf. Wheeler 1968: 86 ff.; Ardeleanu-Jansen 1984): four human heads, seven seated human figures, two crouching animals, and two fragments. These parallels are important for the interpretation of our "priest-king". They all come from the upper levels and are presumed to represent the Late Period (i.e. approximately the last centuries of the third millennium B.C.), "but it must be remembered that the lower levels are much less known... Five of the sculptures were found on the citadel - a significantly high proportion, having regard to the wide extent of excavation elsewhere" (Wheeler 1968: 88).

Outside the citadel, two of the statues - one human head and a seated figure (fig. 2) - were discovered in and around a building (House A 1 in the HR area) which has the greatest claim in the city for being identified as a temple: "it is massively built but

of relatively small size; it is approached in monumental fashion by two symmetrical stairways, a provision quite out of scale with any domestic or industrial purpose; the stairways are themselves reached through an impressive double entrance at the lower level, and within the entrance is a small circular enclosure apparently designed for the protection of a tree or other object - possibly even of the statue whereof the head was found only a few feet away" (Wheeler 1968: 52 f.).

The second statue, wearing a headdress similar to that of the "priest-king", was found in three pieces widely separated from each other, one of them in this "temple", "on top of the wall above the western flight of steps", another 45 feet to the north, in 'South Lane', and the third in the courtyard of an adjacent house. (Ibid.) Indeed, it is remarkable that most statues have been found broken: if they were purposely smashed, which appears likely (cf. Mackay 1931: I, 363), they must have had great ideological value for the inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro, whose morale the sackers of the city would have wanted to break down by means of such a sacrilege. In ancient West Asia, it was usual for the conquerors to break the heads of royal statues and to damage the faces of kings in reliefs.

The room where the "priest-king" statue was found (DK area, B section, Block 2, Room 1) has not been identified as a temple (cf. Mackay 1931: I, 357) but as a bath. Mackay (1931: I, 236 f.) describes it as "an irregularly shaped room subdivided by four walls /about 4 feet high/ in such a way as to leave three long narrow aisles, each 2 ft. 3 1/3 in. wide, and a shorter cross-aisle, 1 ft. 10 in. wide, in the middle... A single band of bricks laid on edge forms a dado-line about 4 feet high around the room, the thickness of these bricks forming a kind of shelf at about the same height as the partition walls... some of the surrounding walls are decorated with ornamental masonry" and in the courtyard outside there is a covered drain, which "probably served to carry off water from Chambers 1 and 2". On this basis Mackay hypothesized that Room 1 might have been a hot-air bath, in which heat introduced by the niche in the southern wall functioning as a flue was "circulated through the aisles beneath

a floor whose level corresponded with the dado-line". The statue "was found in one of the passages below the floor. This could hardly have been the place for such an object: it probably rolled here when the walls fell in".

Some important features which can hardly be accidental, like the shaven upper lip (cf. Mackay 1948: 52 f.) and the hairstyle (cf. below), clearly connect these small statuettes of Mohenjo-daro with Mesopotamian sculptures. Yet they definitely have a style of their own: the whole series has been characterized as "stylistically... largely sui generis" (Wheeler 1968: 89). There are many distinctive features, particularly the "curiously narrow" eyes, in which "there is no trace of Mongolian obliqueness" (cf. Mackay 1931: I, 360 f., where the eyes of many modern inhabitants of Sind are said to present such a "half-closed appearance"). Wheeler (1968: 89 n.1) points out that the low receding forehead is not characteristic of the Harappan skulls, and Piggott (1952: 149) underlines that "it is always dangerous to argue from ancient sculpture to ancient skulls", though he does not altogether eliminate the possibility that this statue might represent an Armenoid type of man.

The ear has been rendered in a kidney-like shape, which recurs on many Harappan objects and is likely to have had a magico-religious significance. It is symptomatic of strong hieratic traditions. In sum, it must be concluded that the bust of the "priest-king" is highly stylized. Marshall (1931: I, 44) was probably close to the truth in his verdict: "I do not... think that the thick lips, broad-based nose, low forehead, and short, stunted neck are meant to reproduce the features of any individual; nor do I think that this head is typical of any particular racial stock. Probably it represents nothing more than a conventional type of deity or religious teacher in vogue at that time. Images such as this, with coarse, unmeaning features, have been turned out in countless numbers and for countless generations by Indian craftsmen - images of the Jain TĪrthaṃkaras, of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, of Krishna, Vishnu, Śiva, and a host of other deities. As a rule, they are mere repetitions of a standard type of image..."

When the "priest-king" statue was found, one of the eyes (cf. Wheeler 1968: 86) was "inlaid with narrow strips of shell, in which a cut roughly represented the partially concealed pupil" (Mackay 1948: 53). In the opinion of Ramaprasad Chandra, the eyes of the "priest-king" are concentrated on the tip of the nose, and from this he concluded that it indicated an attitude of yoga; this hypothesis was approved of by Marshall (1931: I, 44 & 54), who found additional evidence for yoga in the seal representing the so-called "Proto-Śiva", who according to Marshall (1931: I, 52) "is seated... in a typical attitude of Yoga". It has now been shown that the sitting position of "Proto-Śiva" is an artistic convention borrowed by the Harappans from Proto-Elamite art (Parpola 1984). Wheeler (1968: 86) found Chandra's hypothesis to be "without much reason". During Caspers (1976) comments on the eyes: "Straight eyebrows contribute to the rather remote air, though one might consider that the addition of inlay to the eyes might well convert this, perhaps to a sense of calculating watchfulness."

Marshall (1931: I, 54) proposed that "probably it is the statue of a priest or may be of a king-priest, since it lacks the horns which would naturally be expected if it were a figure of the deity himself. That it possessed a religious or quasi-religious character is suggested by the distinctive trefoil patterning of its robe - a motif which in Sumer is reserved for objects of a sacral nature." However, the reason why Marshall was unwilling to assume that the statue represents a deity seems untenable.

In interpreting the "break at the back of the head... with a perfectly plain surface" Mackay thought it "possible that the head was accidentally broken and the fracture trimmed down in order that another piece might be cemented to it". He further drew attention to "two holes drilled on either side of the neck just below the ears" and surmised that they "probably once served to secure an ornamental necklace of precious metal", concluding: "This is a point of considerable significance, for the addition of ornaments to a statue suggests that it was a cult object. If we are right in this conjecture, the head before us may represent

either a deity or a personage who was deified." (Mackay 1931: I, 357.) While Wheeler (1968: 86) agreed on this interpretation, During Caspers (1976) has rightly objected to it. She has pointed out that the holes have been drilled upwards under the ears, and "a necklace of any weight would pull free quite easily" from holes so directed. On the other hand, the holes provide a more plausible explanation for the flat circular patch on the crown of the head: "the necessity for this was the placement of some type of headdress, or ornament, which was secured in position with metal hooks into the holes". From the worn condition of the holes During Caspers concludes that the headdress (which could have been of substantial dimensions and weight) was probably interchangeable. The tall buffalo-horned crown of the "Proto-Śiva" is a likely possibility.

This hypothesis is supported by an important detail of the "Proto-Śiva" and several other anthropomorphic deities depicted on the Harappan seals and amulets: they sit with their legs bent double at the knees and their hands are placed on their knees. In this respect they closely resemble the seated statuettes of Mohenjo-daro (for the most important examples see figs. 2 and 3). These seated statuettes, in their turn, share several features with the "priest-king", notably the dress, including the hair fillet (see below). It therefore seems legitimate to refer to them for the reconstruction of the broken-off portion. During Caspers (1976) also would not find it difficult "to visualize the 'Priest King' as a seated figure". The remaining body, then, was in all likelihood represented in a seated position, with both knees bent in front, either so that the left knee is slightly raised and clasped by the left hand and the right hand placed on the right knee which touches the ground, or so that the right knee is raised and the hands are placed on the knees.

The "priest-king's" cloak carried over the left shoulder and under the right arm is parallelled on seated statues. Mackay (1931: I, 358) describes the best preserved alabaster figure (see fig. 3) as obviously representing a male "dressed in a thin kilt-like garment fastened round the waist. Another garment or shawl of thin material is worn over the left shoulder and under the

right arm, and appears to hang down over the kilt". Wheeler's (1968: 87) note, "but this is not certain", repeats a comment by John Marshall (1931: I, 358 n. 5): "It is not clear how Mr. Mackay infers the existence of this kilt beneath the outer garment". The answer seems to be provided by Mackay in a footnote a little later (p. 363 n. 1): "In some respects this kilt resembles the modern dhoti. Whether anything else was worn beneath this lower garment we have no knowledge." At least two other Harappan seated statuettes show the fold of a skirt- or kilt-like garment between the legs (cf. Wheeler 1968: 88). Wheeler (1968: 87) observes that "the arrangement of the clothing... may have depended upon colour for detail". Loss of possible paint on other figures may explain why the "priest-king" is alone in having decorations on his robe, carved in relief. Mode (1944: 47) has observed that the "priest-king's" garment, which leaves the right shoulder and arm uncovered, is identical with the dress of the later Buddhist monks.

In a recently published, well illustrated paper, Alexandra Ardeleanu-Jansen (1984) has carefully examined all the stone sculptures discovered in Mohenjo-daro. Having received her study shortly before this book went to press, I restrict myself here to quoting only her conclusions most relevant for the present investigation, including a new argument (the position of the right arm) for the seated posture of the "priest-king": "Whether the sculptures simply represent praying figures, or personify priests, rulers or gods, cannot be deduced from the iconographic form. Nevertheless, it is highly presumable that we are dealing with a sculptural genus which must be attributed to a socio-religious conception. It was the trefoil-design on the garment of the 'Priest-king' (DK 1909), which initiated the interpretation as an image of a divine individual and the so-called 'kidney-shaped' form of the ears underlines in our regard the important meaning of the bust. - A careful examination of the position of its slightly extended right arm could, on the background of the posture of the other full-length sculptures, allow a reconstruction of the fragment into a 'squatting figure' with hands resting on the knees... In this way, the number of stone

sculptures from Mohenjo-Daro would extend to a total of eight figures (not including the head fragments), whose typical attribute is the pose of prostration.) The subject matter on several seals (cf. footnote 43) may elucidate the ritual context in which we have to imagine the stone sculptures..." (p.154)

The hair of the Harappan "priest-king" is parted in the middle, cut short at the nape of the neck, and secured by a fillet, which has been tied around the head so that two long ends hang down behind. Two seated statuettes wear an identical fillet (cf. fig. 2, and DK-I 419 in Ardeleanu-Jansen 1984: 149). A number of fillets of this kind, made of thin sheet-gold, have been found in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro. (Mackay 1931: I, 363.) On the other hand, three stone heads show hair worn in a 'divided bun' at the back of the head, bound with a headband (cf. Ardeleanu-Jansen 1984: 140-143). It has been long noted that similar headbands keeping the coiled-up hair in place at the back of the head were worn in Mesopotamia in Early Dynastic times (Mackay 1931: I,363 with n. 3; cf. also During Caspers 1979: 133-135). In Mesopotamia, this hairdress characterizes princely helmets; on a fragmentary 'intercultural style' (i.e. Early Dynastic) bowl from the island of Tarut in the Gulf, it seems to belong to a man fighting with snakes; and on a cylinder seal from Kalibangan this bun-shaped hairstyle is worn by warriors (Parpola 1984: 185 f.).

It appears, then, that Harappan men wore hair in at least two different fashions, one of which (the divided bun at the back of the head) was associated with warriors, and the other (hair divided in the middle and falling to the nape of the neck and bound with golden fillets) by seated men. This difference in the hairstyle seems significant to me (cf. also Mode 1959: 62), and I am not prepared to accept D.P. Agrawal's (1982: 141) conjecture that all of the statuettes might represent the same person.

In a Harappan-style cylinder seal from the Near East, a sitting, buffalo-horned deity surrounded by fish above a pair of water-buffalos is clearly contrasted with a standing, warrior-like deity fighting two tigers (cf. Parpola 1984, fig. 23.40). A similar opposition prevails in the famous 'intercultural style' vase from Khafajeh between a god sitting on bulls with the cres-

cent of the moon beside his head and holding streams of water (with corn in the background), and a god standing on lionesses and fighting snakes (cf. ibid. fig. 23.28-30). These representations can be further compared with the standing and sitting posture of the worshipper of the rising and setting sun in the Vedic ritual. It appears to me that these standing and sitting deities represent - among other things - two aspects of the sun: the youthful rising sun, prototype of the vigorous warrior, who with his rays - representing spears or arrows - dispels the inimical forces of darkness (snakes), and whose heat during the day stands for anger, wrath and destruction; and the old peaceful setting sun, the calm lord of the coming night. Put more simply, they are the day sun and the night sun, or day and night: the golden-skinned and hairy (radiant) lion and the dark bull with horns like the sickle of the moon, who struggle with each other and alternately win and suffer defeat in Proto-Elamite art (fig. 4). They represent the opposite and complementary forces of a dualistic universe: day and night, fire and water, light and darkness, life and death. (See Parpola 1984.)

The reconstruction of the seated posture and the difference of the hairstyle from the "double bun" of the warrior are therefore points of importance in interpreting the "priest-king" statue. One further detail in the "priest-king" statue, however, can still substantially add to our understanding of it - the decorations of the garment.

4. Harappan clues to the meaning of the trefoil motif

The trefoil pattern, "to judge from its frequent appearance at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, is obviously a sacred symbol" (Mackay 1948: 52). In this chapter we shall take a closer look at the various contexts in which it occurs on Harappan objects, looking for clues to its meaning even in technical details. Some of these, we shall see, are quite significant.

The garment of the Harappan "priest-king" and its decorations have been described by Mackay (1931: I, 356 f.) as follows: "The figure is draped in an elaborate shawl with corded or rolled-over

edge, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm. This shawl is decorated all over with a design of trefoils in relief interspersed occasionally with small circles, the interiors of which are filled in with a red pigment" (p. 356). This description must be supplemented by mentioning the two double circles or "figures-of-eight" (the right one broken) on the top of the statue's back, on either side of the fillet-ends. "The interiors of the roundels and trefoils on the robe have been slightly roughened, in order that the red paste used for filling them might adhere more firmly to the stone. The trefoil pattern and also the roundels appear to have been first shaped by means of a drill, for there is a shallow pitting in the middle of each foil and roundel suggesting the point of a drill; the pittings are much too central as well as too shallow to have served merely for keying purposes" (p. 357). The last mentioned statement is debated, and we shall return to it in a moment.

Numerically, various kinds of beads form the most important category of Harappan objects with the trefoil pattern (fig. 5). Trefoil is the most favoured motif on carved steatite beads, discovered in considerable numbers at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhujo-daro. (Another motif on one such bead is "a design of circles and vermiform lines"). Some of the beads are exceedingly finely made, and usually of the long-barrel shape, but convex biconical and cylinder shapes are also found (cf. During Caspers 1976). These trefoil beads are "more rarely found in the lower than in the upper levels, but this may be due to chance... The trefoils were invariably cut with a drill, and the indentation of its point is seen in the centre of each lobe. The ground was also cut away between the trefoils. We have ample evidence that both the ground and the interiors of the trefoils were filled in with a red paste..." (Mackay 1938: I, 508; cf. also Mackay 1931: II, 515-517). Vats (1940: 463) has suggested that the hole in the centre of each foil served the purpose of "keying the inlay, which may have taken the form of tiny disc beads such as..." (examples follow). This is considered possible by During Caspers (1976). It would seem to me that while red paste was used to fill the cloisonnes of the trefoils, some other inlay was also keyed

in the pin-hole in the middle. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the painted trefoils on the funerary pots of Cemetery H at Harappa (see # 11 and fig. 18) also have a dot in the middle of each lobe.

One fragmentary bead 2.08 inches long should be specifically mentioned, for it shows that very large beads were also manufactured. Exceptionally the raised trefoil pattern has been made with a chisel and not the usual drill, by cutting away the surface to a depth of 0.08 inches. (Cf. Mackay 1938: I, 508.) The large size and careful workmanship of this bead make it likely that it was worn by either a divinity (cult image) or a royal person: in the case of seals, for example, the quality and size seem to have been in direct relation to the owner's status in Mesopotamia (cf. Porada 1977: 7 f.) and later in India (cf. Thaplyal 1972: 4 n. 17) as well as in Europe ("sigillum maiestatis").

At Mohenjo-daro as well as Harappa, barrel-shaped (and in one case cylindrical) beads, probably made of burnt steatite paste and painted with lustrous red, have white designs of trefoils and linked circles (cf. Mackay 1938: I, 506; II, pl. 136:59; Vats 1940: I, 463; II, pl. 128: 5, 11; 133: a, b, c; 83: 42, cylindrical). Mackay (1938: I, 506 and 508) suggested that these beads were imitations of 'etched' carnelian beads (red with white patterns) for the poorer man's market, though no carnelian bead with the trefoil pattern has been found. On the other hand, the motif of linked concentric circles or "figure-of-eight", which occurs twice amidst the trefoils on the cloak of the "priest-king", is found on the 'etched' carnelian beads, in the Indus valley as well as in Sumer, but only on the earliest examples (cf. Mackay 1938: I, 666; During Caspers 1972). At Harappa the "figure-of-eight" has been found "as a silver ornament inlaid with steatite beads which are capped with gold"; it is assumed to have had a religious and amuletic significance. (Mackay 1938: I, 666.)

A **finger-ring** (DK 8498) made of steatite, measuring 1.45 inches in diameter outside and 0.69 inches inside, and 0.63 inches in width, has "a trefoil pattern carved in relief, the

interiors of the lobes having first been drilled" and "the sunken portions... probably once filled in with a coloured paste". (Fig. 6.) This exceptional find comes from block 10, house I, room 11 in the G section of the DK area of Mohenjo-daro (at a level of - 22 ft., representing the "Intermediate III" period). Because the trefoil appears to have been a sacred motif, and because a ring of this material would not have stood hard everyday wear", Mackay assumed that it "was worn by a priest or in the performance of some ritual". (Mackay 1938: I, 531; II, pl. 139: 14.)

Another singular object bearing the trefoil motif is a cubical dice from Chanhujo-daro (fig. 7).

The trefoil pattern has been incised at regular intervals on the surface of a very carefully smoothed and partially polished pedestal of dark red stone (DK 4480, now in the National Museum of Pakistan, accession no. 52.1860). (Fig. 9.) On account of its extraordinary workmanship, this stand must have been an object of great importance. Each lobe of the trefoil was cut with a tubular drill; the interiors were purposely left rough to afford a key-hold for the intended shell inlay or coloured paste. The pedestal itself measures 14.7 cm in diameter at its widest and 6.6 cm in height. Its base is flat and semi-polished; the two holes in it (ca. 1 cm deep and 7.5 cm apart) show that the pedestal was once pegged down to something. The round depression in the middle of the top, 6 cm in diameter and 0.5 cm deep, was in its turn to receive some other object, fixed to it by means of two dowel-holes 3 cm apart and 1.5 cm deep. This stand was found in room 18, house VII, block 9 in the DK area (G section) of Mohenjo-daro, at a level of - 4.8 ft. (Cf. Mackay 1938: I, 412; II, pl. 104: 26 and 107: 35; During Caspers 1976.) The building where the stand comes from is supposed to have had some religious use, for it was well constructed. Moreover, the nearby room 21 of the same house yielded a large and heavy steatite pectoral carved with the image of the 'unicorn bull' with a 'cult stand' in front of it, supposedly used in some ritual. (Cf. Mackay 1938: I, 41.) It may be added that an inscribed faience amulette (DK 3687) with a unique but unfortunately not quite clear religious scene was also discovered in this house, room 16 (cf. Mackay 1938: II, pl.

91:12 & 92:1).

Another smaller stand of grey limestone (DK 12390), only 1 inch high and 2.56 inches in diameter at the base, has a slightly different decoration. Irregularly placed shallow "pittings" (probably intended to be filled with shell inlay or coloured paste), whose diameter varies from 0.19 inches to a very small size, alternate here and there with trefoils. The depression at the middle of the top is 0.45 inches in diameter and has a smaller hole in its floor. This pedestal was found at a level of - 9.2 ft. in room 42 in block 6A of the DK area. (Cf. Mackay 1938: I, 412; II, pl. 104: 23 & pl. 125: 34.)

Altogether ten such stands have been described from Mohenjodaro. "They are invariably carefully made... The exact purpose of these stands is problematical, but... some of them may, in fact, be the bases of liṅgas. That these objects were connected in some way with the religion of the time is, indeed, to be inferred from the trefoil pattern... If, however, these pedestals were actually used for liṅgas, one would certainly expect to find the latter near them. Up to the present, this has not been the case. It is possible, of course, that the particular objects that they supported were of wood and have entirely perished; but I cannot conceive of an elaborately made stone base being provided for a wooden object, however sacred it might be. Moreover, the liṅgas of modern India are invariably made of stone and probably those of ancient times were also" (Mackay 1938: I, 411.)

Some support for the hypothesis that these pedestals might have supported sacred phalli, is provided by the fact that the trefoil is also found on a small moulded "gamesman" or "phallus" made of paste. It is "covered with an irregular trefoil design. In one place... a cross with a linear filling is incised upon it". This "gamesman" measures 1.1 inches in height and 0.65 inches in diameter at the base, where there is a round hole, 0.7 inches deep and 0.25 inches in diameter, evidently used for fixing it onto something. This object comes from the HR area (passage 20, house XVIII, block 4) of Mohenjodaro (4 feet below surface). (Mackay 1931: II, 558).

It cannot be a coincidence that the trefoil pattern always

seems to have been associated with the colour red. Two sherds of polychrome pottery (cf. fig. 8) and Mackay's commentary on them underline this most important fact and its significance. "The small sherds, Nos. 10 and 15 (of Pl. LXVIII), were found together and must have formed part of the same vessel. They are decorated with irregularly placed red trefoils with white borders on an apple-green ground. This latter paint is, as usual, in a very powdery condition, and there are indications that the white borders were once outlined with black... The red colouring of the lobes also suggests that this pattern is not derived from the clover leaf, for otherwise the painter of the jar would surely have painted them green. That red was the recognised colour for this motif is clear from the fact that in no instance has a trefoil of any other colour been found at Mohenjo-daro." (Mackay 1938: I, 227 f.)

During Caspers (1976) has further pointed out that while the "priest-king's" robe has single and double circles besides trefoils, "the natural extension of these patterns into the quatrefoil and the cinquefoil is not apparent in the Indus artistry". There should be some reason for this, and I suspect that it is the overwhelming importance of the number three in the symbolism of the trefoil motif.

An inventory of the Harappan objects upon which the trefoil motif appears has given various clues to the meaning of this symbol. In the course of this book I shall have an opportunity to return to a number of them, and to consider their significance in the light of other comparisons. Having thus in a preliminary way completed the internal analysis of the Harappan material, we may now turn to Near Eastern analogies.

5. Near Eastern clues to the meaning of the trefoil motif

Ernest Mackay (1931: I, 356 f. note 2, and II, 517 n. 1; for the following, cf. also Wheeler 1968: 87; and During Caspers 1970-71: 114-116) has compared the trefoil pattern of the "priest-king's" garment to some Near Eastern contexts where this motif has an obviously astral meaning. Trefoils (cf. fig. 10)

and occasionally quatrefoils (cf. fig. 11) cut into the stone surface and originally inlaid with lapis lazuli and carnelian are found on several small amulets from Sumer, having the shape of reclining bulls; they come from Uruk and are dated to the Jemdet Naṣr period (ca. 3100-2900 B.C.). The trefoil pattern does not seem to occur in Mesopotamia again before the time of Gudea and the Third Dynasty of Ur (ca. 2100-2000), when trefoil inlays again decorate a couple of small reclining bulls with a bearded human head, made of steatite and 'bituminous stone', and found at Lagash (Tello) in Sumer (fig. 12). Four recumbent bulls with trefoil patterns on their bodies originally surrounded a steatite bowl from this same period, found in the É-Nun-Maḫ treasury at Ur; the symbols of the sun-god Utu, of the moon-god Nanna, and of Inanna, the goddess of the morning and evening star, carved above the backs of these bulls, suggest an astral meaning for the trefoils.

The horn-crowned and bearded human head of the Neo-Sumerian bulls with trefoils calls for a comparison with the later bull colossi with bearded human head and horned crown who protect the gates of the Assyrian palaces. These daimons are usually mentioned as a pair, one male and one female. A text (UET 6,103) concerning Rīm-Sin's (ca. 1800 B.C.) entering the city of Ur mentions "Favourable Udug and the Lamma of Greeting, the gatekeepers of the main gate", who act as messengers between the king Rīm-Sın and the gods of the city temple, Nanna and Ningal; in another text (UET 6,105) "Udug and Lamma of the house" officiate between Rīm-Sin and the same gods, and reference is made to "bisons on the right and left..., the gods guarding the gate". (Foxvog et al. 1983: 449.) "Temple worshippers needed the assistance of a Lamma; it is from this assistance during the approach to the deity that the concept of a pair of personal guardians and subsequently a single guardian or genie seems to have developed. If one's Lamma leaves him, he is unguarded and automatically vulnerable to misfortune. The Lamma attached to the individual was the female of the guardian pair, perhaps because the male member, Udug/Šēdu, was thought to be less gentle or more 'demonic'. Already in the texts of the Fara period, a Lamma is known

as an individualized deity." (Ibid. 448.) "Gudea, about to embark on a trip from Girsu to the city of Nanše, asks of Gatumdu: 'may your good Udug walk in front of me, may your good Lamma go behind me' (Cyl. A III 20 f.; cf. also B II 8 ff.)" (ibid. 449). The Sumerian word udug mentioned in these early texts as the name of the male of the guardian pair later denotes an evil demon or a ghost of the dead.

The lions as gatekeepers in ancient West Asia are connected with the lion of the Great Goddess, the personification of Mother Earth (cf. Hörig 1979: 53 ff., 101 f.); the bulls as gatekeepers may therefore be connected with the heavenly bull who represents her fertilizing husband, the god of thunder, in Anatolia and Syria. The parallellism between lion and bull as gatekeepers in any case relates them to the antithetic pair of lion and bull in the Proto-Elamite seals (fig. 4), in which case the bull could represent the star-covered night.

C.J. Gadd (quoted by Mackay 1931: I, 356 f. n. 2) thought that the Sumerian bulls with trefoils are "representations of the 'Bull of Heaven' (a Babylonian name for one of the constellations) and therefore the trefoils represent stars". The "Bull of Heaven" (GU_4-AN-NA = ālu) figures in the epic of Gilgameš, where the goddess Istar demands that her father Anu (the Sky) send the demoniac bull to destroy the city of Uruk: after the bull has spread death and calamity far and wide, it is finally killed by Gilgameš and his bull-man friend Enkidu. The myth was evidently transferred to the sky, for it is reflected in certain details of the constellation Taurus, which is also called "Bull of Heaven" (GU_4-AN-NA). (Cf. Borger 1975: 413.)

Trefoils and quatrefoils clearly have an astral significance in the cows representing Hathor, the Mother Goddess, as "Lady of Heaven" in the famous couch found in Tutankhamun's tomb in Egypt (ca. 1350 B.C.). (Fig. 13.) Among further parallels mention can be made of Minoan bull-headed rhytons with quatrefoils. (Cf. Mackay 1931: I, 517 n. 1.)

During Caspers (1970-71: 116) has suggested that the trefoil motif had gone out of fashion in Mesopotamia before it was revived there by contacts with the Harappans who had received it

earlier and kept it alive. If this is true, there is little reason to doubt that "the analogues from Egypt and Mesopotamia at least combine to suggest a religious and in particular an astral connotation for the motif, and support the conjecture that the Mohenjo-daro bust may portray a deity or perhaps a priest-king" (Wheeler 1968: 87).

6. The garments of the Mesopotamian gods and kings

That the "priest-king" statue and its trefoils have had a religious significance is clear from Herbert Sauren's recent study on "the garments of the gods" (1983), whose main theses I would like to summarize here first. Sauren emphasizes the religious nature of Mesopotamian art. There could be no dichotomy between profane and religious art because the king himself always belonged to the clergy and because in the cult he was considered to be divine, even if he did not allow his name to be preceded by the determinative of divine names (the star pictogram) in his royal inscriptions (p. 95). On account of its religious nature, every detail of Mesopotamian art has a symbolic significance. Art is used in the temple and the cult of the gods to decorate the buildings, the cult objects and the acting persons: it alters their nature, changing a profane building into a temple, a stick into a sceptre, and the human being (priest) into a divinity. The art serves to educate the people who participate in the festivals, and outside the temples it bears witness to religion and its link with the believers.

The cult activates the divine and cosmic forces. The temple represents the universe; it is the cosmos in which the divinity is present in the form of statues, emblems and the priest performing the cultic act. The clothing and insignia indicate who is the god acting through the priest (p. 96). If the artist wished to represent a divinity and chose his or her anthropomorphic shape, he could always resort to the priest representing the god or the goddess in the cult: the artist could reproduce the dress, including the emblems and the hairdress, often also the animal mask worn by the priest or priestess; this could also imply

cultic nudity. The priestly dress and adornment were not haphazard, but loaded with symbolism, because their purpose was to make the divinity and his or her special powers visibly manifest. It was precisely this cultic clothing that converted man into a representative of the deity. A god could have many names and aspects, and each of these was expressed through an attribute (p. 97). The clothing of the gods and kings was therefore extremely important for their recognition, but had in addition its own symbolic values (p. 99), abundantly explained in the Sumerian literature.

When the goddess Inanna set out for the underworld, she put on all her clothes and decorations. (The translation of this extract of the Sumerian myth is from Wolkstein & Kramer 1983: 53:)

She gathered together the seven me.
She took them into her hands.
With the me in her possession, she prepared herself.

She placed the shugurra, the crown of the steppe, on her head.
She arranged the dark locks of hair across her forehead.
She tied the small lapis beads around her neck,
Let the double strand of beads fall to her breast,
And wrapped the royal robe around her body.
She daubed her eyes with ointment called "Let him come,
Let him come",
Bound the breastplate called "Come, man, come!" around her chest,
Slipped the gold ring over her wrist,
And took the lapis measuring rod and line in her hand.

The word me used for Inanna's emblems means '(divine) power': it stands for everything that the gods have but mortals lack. While entering through the seven gates of the underworld Inanna had to remove her divine decorations one by one until she stood powerless, in the power of her sister (p. 100).

In this myth Inanna was warned not to remove her "pure/holy ME-cloth" (túg-ME-kù). In Neo-Sumerian times, Inanna's "garment

of rule" (TÚG.NAM.EN = palá, also spelled TÚG.NAM.NIN = palà) is also worn by en-priestesses. Inanna is also said to put on a "white cloth" and a "black cloth". The ME-cloth was worn also by other gods (Ḫaja, Nusku, Ašimbabbar, Dumuzi; Dumuzi also wears a "lofty garment", túg.maḫ) and by kings (Šulgi, Ur-Ninurta, Samsuiluna) as well as by en-priests. The royal garb is also called pala = TÚG.NAM.LUGAL "garment of kingship". King Ibbisin is said to vest himself for the festival of the gods in a "fiery (or splendid) garment" (nì-lám = lamaḫuššû, where the word ḫuššû means 'red' or 'red gold'). (Cf. Waetzoldt 1972: xxi f.)

In an article published in 1949, Leo A. Oppenheim dealt with cuneiform texts and monumental evidence relating to "the golden garments of the gods" and divine kings. Numerous Neo-Babylonian texts of the seventh century B.C. refer to the making of splendid festive garments reserved for divine beings alone: "/.../ godhead /.../ the surface of which was made shining with /pre/cious stones and gold, I arranged magnificently for Ea... Nabû... Tašmêtum as a têdiqu garment (befitting) their great godhead" (p. 172 f.). Gold was given to goldsmiths "for the repair of the rosettes and tenšia - the tarikatum - (from the pišannu garment of the 'Lady of Sippar'" (p. 174). "700+x ro/settes of gold, y te/nšia of gold, their weight - including the muṣîptu-garment - is 23 minas, which are (to be) mounted upon (the garment of the image of) Nana, 172 rosettes of gold and tenš/ia/ of gold in addition, 1 1/2 minas (is) their weight, were taken down for cleaning purposes" (p. 174). "9 garments of his divine attire, whose patterned border-strips (šibṭu) were trimmed (?) with golden disks (nipḫu) and golden rosettes in rows (?)" (p. 175). "561 (pieces of) rosettes, 560 (pieces of) tenšia, together 1121 (pieces of) rosettes and tenšia, their weight - together with the (pertinent) muṣîptu-garment - is 8 minas 52 shekels of gold; 70 large UR.GU.LA^{MEŠ} (and) 25 small UR.GU.LA^{MEŠ}, their (combined) weight being 3 minas 19 shekels of gold" (cf. p. 173). The logogram UR.GU.LA is explained in a native lexicon in two meanings: (1) "as ^{d}La-ta-ra-ak, the name of a rarely found solar deity and of a star or constellation", and (2) the likeness of a ferocious lion. Archaeological evidence (a group of small lion heads with

gaping mouths and menacing teeth from an Achaemenian "treasure") and monuments (lion head sewed onto the girdle of a divine being, cf. fig. 14:14) prove that the latter is meant (p. 177, 173, 188), but undoubtedly the astral meaning is implied.

"Golden stars" (Sumerian **mul.guškin**) are specifically mentioned in a similar context in two texts: "18 3/4 shekels of gold (to wit) 61 golden stars, which were damaged from the **kusītu** garment of the 'Lady of Uruk' are at the disposal of N. and A., the goldsmiths, for repair work on the golden stars"; "703 golden stars (and) 688 **ha-še-e** from the **kusītu** garment of the 'Lady of Uruk'; 706 rosettes of gold, 706 **ten-ši-i** of gold from the **kusītu** garment of Nana, are at the disposal of the goldsmith S. for cleaning" (p. 176 f., 174). "37 3/4 shekels (to wit): 2.. /.../ of gold, two rings (**har**) of gold, 2 **qudāšu**-rings, 3 **anṣabtu**-rings which came off/down from the **pišannu** garment of Nana, are at the disposal of the goldsmiths... for repair".

For the function and history of the various types of garments mentioned in these texts we have the following interesting observations by Oppenheim:

têdiqu "evidently designates a ceremonial piece of apparel belonging to the wardrobe of the gods and kings... it was girt around the waist... The legal texts refer to **muṣîptu** as the typical (or principal) piece of apparel for workers and slaves... In the above quoted texts, however, and others coming from the offices of the temple administration, **muṣîptu** refers to a garment used exclusively for the clothing of the images of goddesses. This twofold use seems to suggest that the garment was of a primitive type worn by the lowest strata of the population as well as used for cultic purposes which reflected the mores of the past. In contradistinction to the **muṣîptu**, the garment **pišannu** was reserved - in the Neo-Babylonian period - exclusively for the clothing of images. It is often made of linen, but dyed wool... is used for its decoration. The... **kusītu**... is decorated with golden appliques, while the documents of earlier periods... attest to its secular use. Toward the end of the first /sic/ millennium B.C., however, the **kusītu**-garment shifted from secular to ceremonial use. From then on, gods, kings, and priests are clad

in it.. the Neo-Babylonian material... restricts the use of the kusītu to female deities. The Neo-Assyrian texts refer to the kusītu as to the exclusive royal dress" (p. 178 f.) .

The Neo-Babylonian documents, then, provide ample evidence for attaching golden ornaments described as rosettes, stars, discs, rings, lions "to fabrics (or leather-coated objects) from which they could be removed for repair, cleaning, and polishing. Their individual weight is light (1/3 to 1/2 shekel), but the garments thus spangled were certainly quite impressive in their value and sparkling appearance. The use of such 'golden garments' definitely seems to have been restricted to the cultic and royal wardrobe" (p. 180).

Although these texts are rather late, sporadic textual references testify to the existence of such "golden garments" as early as around 2000 B.C. Thus a date-formula from Eshnunna from the Isin-Larsa period says "year (called): the têdiqum garment of gold of/for the god Tišpak" (p. 172, 180). An Ur III text refers to "165 large... rings of gold (ḫar.guškin), 165 second-grade... rings of gold, their (individual) weight 1/2 shekel"; in Oppenheim's opinion "this passage could be interpreted as documenting the use of the applique technique for the decoration of garments in the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur" (p. 177). Such a use has now been attested also in Ebla around the 24th century B.C. (G. Pettinato cited by Waetzoldt 1980: 20; Edzard 1981: 39-45).

Representations of gods and kings clad in such "golden garments" extend chiefly from the 12th century to the Achaemenian period and cover a wide area from Armenia to Elam (fig. 14). Sporadically, there are older objects. Particularly interesting are small golden statuettes about 6 cm high from Susa, now dated to the 12th century B.C. (cf. Amiet 1980: fig. no. 520) (see fig. 14: 2). They represent bearded men carrying offerings; the engraved dots on their long skirts may represent the small metal rings or perforated disks decorating the garment of queen Napirasu in her metal statue from Susa dated to ca. 1250 B.C. (fig. 14: 26) (Oppenheim 1949: 187). The scattered circular borings on the cloaks of the warriors on the "Standard of Ur" (fig. 14: 15) dating from about 2500 B.C. may conventionally represent metal

disks sewn on the garment for protection (p. 190). The oldest archaeological evidence for "golden garments" comes from the XIIth stratum of Tepe Gawra representing the Uruk period (ca. 3500-3200 B.C.): it consists of thin gold rosettes which have "four small holes (arranged approximately in a rectangle) near the center and were therefore obviously destined to be sewed onto some fabric" (p. 188).

The age of the gold rosettes from Tepe Gawra prompted Oppenheim to suggest "with all due reservations and without the pretension to establish a direct correlation" that the garment of the Harappan "priest-king" might be interpreted analogically: "His garment is covered with trefoils, etc., which from the point of view of the present study could be interpreted as representing some kind of appliqué work of metal or cut-out materials of contrasting texture and/or color to decorate a monochrome garment" (p. 188). In fact, Mackay (1931: I, 362), while discussing the shawl of the "priest-king", had already found that "the prominence of the design suggests that the trefoils and circles were sewn or fastened on in some way instead of being woven in the material". From the draping of the statues Mackay concluded that the garments were of thin material, "probably of cotton", which was used by the Harappans (ibid. 362 n. 2) and already by their ancestors some two thousand years earlier (cf. B. & R. Allchin 1982: 191).

I think that the increasing and rather decisive similarities between the West Asian and Harappan art and religion entitle us to relax Oppenheim's reservations somewhat, and to extend the analogy to comprise not only the technological but also the ideological side. Incidentally, I would like to add the observation that the "circular buckle placed in the middle of the forehead", which ornaments the fillet of the "priest-king" statue from Mohenjo-daro (cf, Mackay 1931: I, 357) is parallelled in Mesopotamia by the "front rosette" (aiar pāni) "frequently illustrated on Neo-Assyrian reliefs: the front part of the tiara is decorated by a large (golden) rosette, or such a rosette is held above the forehead of a person by means of a fillet. Divine beings and kings alone are represented with this 'front rosette'"

(Oppenheim 1949: 173 n. 4).

What do Mesopotamian sources tell about the ideological implications of these decorative ornaments? Oppenheim has referred to the protective use of metal discs on the cloaks of soldiers ca. 2500 B.C., interpreting them as forerunners of the later scale-armour. Many of the ornamental patterns found on the "golden garments", including the "step" motif and "wall and towers" moreover occur on battering rams and boxes of chariots (cf. fig. 14: 4, 19, 21-23, 25), where their function is hardly merely ornamental, but almost certainly also protective (p. 190). As an example of such an apotropaic function for the star design, Oppenheim mentions the "starry (asteroeis) corslet", which the Iliad (16,234) includes in the armour of Achilles. "The star (with 8 beams basically) appears due to its apotropaic function and its connection with the cult of the foremost goddess of the Mesopotamian pantheon" (Oppenheim 1949: 191), i.e. Inanna-Ištar, the goddess of love and war associated with the planet Venus. The purpose of the rosettes and fierce lions, too, was "to ward off dangers and evil influences, to inspire awe, and to impress the adversary" (p. 191). But this is not all.

The Akkadian word used for the "golden garments" has been quoted from some ritual text by a Babylonian astrologer in the following passage of his report to the king: "The 16th (and) 17th day (of the month Kislīmu) a bull shall be 'prepared' before the god Nabû, the bull shall be slaughtered /.../ before Nabû, the 18th day he (the god) shall be clad in AN.MA, the night of the 19th day (is) the kinūnu-ceremony." The logogram AN.MA = nalbaš šamê literally denotes "garment of the sky", and here evidently refers to "the vestment of the image of Nabû, decorated with stars sewed on" (Oppenheim 1949: 180 f.). Thus nalbaš šamê obviously represents "the star-spangled sky" here (ib. 187 n. 25).

But the phrase nalbaš šamê has another meaning, too, for in a lexical text it is identified with ur-pi-ti "clouds", which cover the sky like a garment. In this latter meaning it is attested twice in the great astrological text Enuma Anu ^{d}Enlil; for example, "When the moon at its appearance is dark like the garment of the sky, then the king cannot rightly govern his country." A

fragmentary explanation, which follows, suggests that the astrologer understood the moon to be darkened by a cloud. (Cf. Weidner 1931-32: 115.)

Simo Parpola notes (oral communication) that rainclouds could well be implied in the first report cited, too. He points out that the god Nabû (the grandson of the ancient water god Ea) was identified with the planet Mercury, whose appearances were considered to portend rain. The kinūnu festival, celebrated in kislīmu/December, seems to have corresponded to the Roman Saturnalia, and its purpose may well have been to secure rain for the winter growing season. The name of the festival derives from the 'hearth' or 'furnace' (kinūnu) on which the bull mentioned in the report was offered up as a burnt-offering.

The statue of Nabû, on the other hand, was probably covered with the star-garment, as suggested by Oppenheim, who comments (1949: 187 n. 25): "Clouds and stars are thus placed in a relationship which is difficult for us to appreciate and to grasp, which, however, on a different level of artistic expression, is patently parallelled by the comparative ease with which stars and rosettes are seen in hair whirls." He explains this further by pointing out that the clouds are understood as a fleece, which is cut off by the north wind, called "the shearer of the sky" (gallāb šamê). Oppenheim further refers to "certain conventionalized interpretations of hairtufts or curls of a fleece as stars or rosettes" in such Egyptian monuments as "the ceremonial leopard skin with sewed-on (metal) stars on a mural of the 19th Dynasty...; the star-covered skin of such an animal on the wooden statue... and finally, such a fleece covered densely with rosettes on a statue (Twenty-sixth Dynasty)". He suggests a similar interpretation for "the few Jemdet Naṣr and Early Dynastic statuettes of animals with inlaid stars" and for "the stars incised upon the bare chest and upper arms" of the offerer from Susa (fig. 14:2), which are otherwise "difficult to interpret, especially since the representation is certainly not that of a cosmic deity, comparable, e.g., with the Egyptian sky-goddess, Neit, often shown in her starred nakedness."

The term nalbašu = Neo-Sumerian túg-maḫ denotes a very heavy

'cloak' made of either wool or (rarely) linen, weighing about 4 kg. It is also said to have been made of black wool for the goddess Inanna, for other deities and for the king. It was used as a dress and as a cover for the throne. (Waetzoldt 1980: 22.)

In Mesopotamia the "garments of the sky" were used only by the images of gods and the king. Oppenheim (p. 191) observes: "no secular use developed ... by substituting less expensive materials. The use of gold and the specific technique evolved for the decoration of these garments was obviously intimately linked to a specific functional value of the ornaments utilized; they alone have endowed these garments with the aura of sacredness which could not be transferred to other media." Simo Parpola (oral communication) would associate this special value of the stars in the divine cloths with the fact that the star is the symbol of divinity: the star pictogram in the cuneiform script is the determinative of divine names, and the star-formed brandmark was used to mark the cattle belonging to the temples, i.e. to the gods (cf. CAD 8/1971: 45 s.v. kakkabtu).

The special character of these sacred vestments did not disappear in the course of time. Oppenheim (1949: 191 f.) derives the starry vestis regia of the Roman imperator and the coronation mantles of popes, emperors and kings in Europe from the star-spangled attire of the Mesopotamian priest-kings via Sassanian Iran and Byzantium on the one hand, and via Syria and Egypt on the other.

7. The garment of the divine king Varuṇa

These Near Eastern data relating to the Harappan "priest-king's" garment have some striking but so far overlooked parallels in the Indian tradition, starting with the earliest available text collection, the hymns of the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā (ṚS, ca. 1300-1000 B.C.). Significantly, these Indian parallels are intimately associated with Varuṇa, the divine king par excellence, who (along with Yama, the King of the Dead, in several respects Varuṇa's duplicate) in the Vedic pantheon appears to be the main successor of the Harappan "Proto-Śiva" and (cf. # 3) the "priest-

king". Varuṇa's nature matches well those posited for the Harappan "Proto-Śiva", the ruler of night / darkness / death / waters / fertility (cf. Parpola 1984).

Marshall's "Proto-Śiva" wears the horns of a water buffalo, and he is surrounded by four beasts, among them a water buffalo and a tiger who face each other. These are among the reasons why Alf Hiltebeitel (1978) has suggested that instead of "Proto-Śiva" we should actually speak of "Proto-Mahiṣa", the prototype of Mahiṣa, "Water-Buffalo", the demon (asura), slain by the tiger- or lion-riding goddess Durgā, but at the same time her husband. I think that this identification is quite correct. I am convinced that the cult of the Goddess and Mahiṣa-Asura in later Hindu folk-religion up to the present day - particularly in Bengal and the Himalayan regions (where Vajrayāna Buddhism is an important offshoot) as well as in the Deccan and South India - has indeed preserved to an astonishing degree the most central elements of the Harappan religion over a period of 5000 years. We know that the water buffalo was worshipped by the Early Harappans and that its symbolism corresponded to that of the bull (fighting with the lion) in ancient Elam and Mesopotamia (cf. Parpola 1984). The old name "Proto-Śiva" can nevertheless be retained for the sake of convention, for it is not entirely erroneous: Śiva 'kind, auspicious' is a euphemistic name for the terrible deity Rudra, but undoubtedly also for Bhairava, the 'frightful' manifestation of Śiva represented in the form of an enraged buffalo (fig. 15), who is none other than Mahiṣa.

Śākta Tantrism, however, is a more direct descendant of the Harappan religion than Vedic Brahmanism, which has had these earlier traditions filtered through at least two successive waves of Aryan immigration (cf. # 2). There are traces of a buffalo sacrifice even in the Vedic tradition, where the buffalo is connected with Varuṇa (VS 24,28) as it is later connected with Yama (fig. 16); but these older features have been obscured, because the Aryans substituted for the sacrificial buffalo their own principal animal, the horse (also connected with funerals as the buffalo is e.g. among the Dravidian-speaking Todas of South India). The sacrificial horse belongs to Varuṇa or his later

form Prajāpati "lord of procreation", and the horse sacrifice is one of the principal royal rituals. Varuṇa was the chief Asura, i.e., originally, "god", but after the invasion of the Ṛgvedic Aryans, "god of the enemy, i.e. demon". Finally Varuṇa had to yield his supremacy to Indra, the overlord of the new pantheon: according to ṚS 4,42, where a certain amount of rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa is still visible, Indra after the defeat of the asuras offers Varuṇa the chance of joining the ranks of the gods, the devas. (For the Pre-Vedic origin of Varuṇa and the horse-sacrifice, see S. Parpola et al. 1977: 162 f.; Parpola 1983: 49, 56.)

The universal ruler (**samrāj**) and the king (**rājan**) in the Veda is above all the god Varuṇa: these titles are applied to him more often than to any other deity, including even Indra (cf. Lüders 1951: I,34 f.). Varuṇa is the guardian of the cosmic order and truth, ṛta (ib. 13 ff.; 1959: II, 402 ff.). But he is also the god of waters, of waters in general (ib. I, 46 ff.), and of the ocean (ib. 41 ff.) and the rivers (ib. 128 ff.) in particular. Varuṇa is said to reside not only in waters but also in the sky (ib. 54 ff.); these seemingly inconsistent statements are reconciled in the Vedic concepts of heavenly rivers (ib. 138 ff.) and of a heavenly ocean behind the firmament (ib. 111 ff.).

Because Varuṇa is the lord of the heavenly waters and dwells in the heavenly river, he naturally controls rain. According to ṚS 5,85,3, "Varuṇa lets the barrel (or water-skin) with its opening downwards stream down upon heaven and earth and the atmosphere; therewith the king of the whole world wets the ground like the rain (wets) barley." In numerous hymns Varuṇa (mostly together with his divine pair-companion Mitra) is implored to send rain: "Wet our pastures with (gushes of) melted butter!" (ṚS 3,62,16 **ā́ no mitrāvaruṇā ghṛtaír gávyūtim ukṣatam**; almost the same words in ṚS 7,62,5; 7,64,4; 7,65,4); "Grant in abundance lovely heavenly water!" (ṚS 7,65,4); "Make the plants grow, cause the cows to swell, send down rain, o ye (Varuṇa and Mitra) who drop swiftly (or flow abundantly)!" (ṚS 5,62,3). (Cf. Lüders 1959: II, 715 ff.)

Several hymns refer to the garment of Varuṇa and Mitra. Thus

in ṚS 5,62,4 "a cloth of ghee" (ghṛtásya nirṇík) follows after Varuṇa and Mitra, and the streams have long been flowing down. In ṚS 7,64,1, "clothes of ghee" are attributed to Varuṇa and Mitra, who in the following verse 7,64,2 are asked to send rain down from heaven. In ṚS 1,152,1 these same gods are said to clothe themselves in "fatty garments", and to have unbroken streams (of rain: cf. varṣasya sárgāḥ in AS 4,15,2) as their thoughts or worries (yuváṃ vástrāṇi pīvasā́ vasāthe, yuvór ácchidrā mántavo ha sárgāḥ). In ṚS 1,153,1, they have the epithet "dripping with ghee" (ghṛtasnū). It is clear that ghee in these expressions stands for rain, as it does in ṚS 7,62,5; 7,64,4; 7,65,4; 3,62,16; 10,12,3, and that the garments of Varuṇa and Mitra are the rainclouds (cf. Geldner 1951: I, 210).

According to ṚS 1,25,13, king "Varuṇa bearing a golden mantle dons a shining dress, while his spies sit around him" (bíbhrad drāpíṃ hiraṇyáyaṃ váruṇo vasta nirṇíjaṃ pári spáśo ní ṣedire). According to Bergaigne (1883: III,130 = 1978: III, 135), "Varuṇa's golden garment in 1,25,13 would represent not so much the rays of the sun as the waters rendered golden by the sun or rendered ruddy on account of lightning". In addition to references already quoted above, Bergaigne points to passages such as ṚS 9,90,2, where Varuṇa "clothes himself in rivers" (...vásāno váruṇo ná síndhūn), and ṚS 7,87,6 where "Varuṇa descends on the sea ... like a shining drop". One might add two verses from the most important prayer for rain addressed to Varuṇa and Mitra, ṚS 5,63: 3. "O ye universal kings, dreadful bulls, excellent lords of heaven and earth, Varuṇa and Mitra! Come to the fore with bright clouds upon the roar (of the thunder) (and) let the sky rain with (your) magic power of an Asura." 6. "O Varuṇa and Mitra, the Parjanya (god of rain) speaks with a voice (of thunder) which is full of refreshment, bright and provided with lightning; the Maruts (storm gods) cloth themselves in the rainclouds, with magic power, let ye the ruddy (aruṇā́m) spotless sky rain!"

These reference leave little doubt that the dark rainclouds were conceived to be Varuṇa's "fatty garments". It is likely, however, that the rainclouds were not the only model for Varuṇa's

"shining" dress. In the epic period, Varuṇa is, above all, the god of the waters. While describing his hall in the waters, where the god sits with his wife and is surrounded by his subjects, Mahābhārata 2,9,6 says that Varuṇa "wears celestial jewelry and attire, adorned with celestial ornaments" (**divyaratnāmbaradharo divyābharaṇabhūṣitaḥ**). A valuable clue to the nature of Varuṇa's bejewelled attire is provided by a comparison in the Sauptikaparvan of the Mahābhārata (10,1,25): "Adorned with planets, constellations and stars that have been scattered all over, the night sky, like a festal garment, shines everywhere beautiful to the view" (**grahanakṣatratārābhiḥ prakīrṇābhir alaṃkṛtaṃ nabho 'ṃśukam ivabhāti prekṣaṇīyaṃ samantataḥ**).

The space speckled with stars is directly attested as the garment of a god in a later work: in the Yogavāsiṣṭha, composed around the 12th century, probably in Kashmir, this sky-garment is worn by Śiva, who resides on the cremation-ground (cf. Goudriaan 1973: 57). The heavenly Ganges in his hair and the moon on his crest (which are mentioned in this connection) are among those other attributes of Śiva that remind us of Varuṇa, of the Mesopotamian water god Enki, and of the sitting god with bull, streams and sickle of the moon on the Early Dynastic serpentine vessel of Khafajeh (cf. Parpola 1984: 186 ff. with fig. 23.29).

In the Brāhmaṇa texts Varuṇa is "specially connected with the nocturnal heaven. Thus Mitra is said to have produced the day and Varuṇa the night (TS. 6,4,8,3); and the day is said to belong to Mitra and the night to Varuṇa (TS. 2,1,7,4)...The antithesis between the two is differently expressed by the ŚB. (12,9,2,12), which asserts that this world is Mitra, that (the celestial) world is Varuṇa" (Macdonell 1897: 25, with further references in the notes). In fact Varuṇa is often directly equated with the night (KS 22,6 **rātrī varuṇaḥ**; AB 4,10; JB 1,312; PB 25,10,10 **rātrir varuṇaḥ**; MS 1,5,12 **váruṇo vaí sá tád rā́trir bhūtvā́...**). The colour black is characteristic of the night and darkness (MS 2,5,7; 3,3,6; JB 2,429 **yát kṛṣṇáṃ tád rā́treḥ /rūpám/**; MS 3,14,17 **kṛ́ṣṇo rā́tryāḥ**; ŚB 5,3,2,2 **kṛṣṇáṃ vaí támaḥ**; MS 2,1,6 **támo vaí kṛṣṇám**; in ŚB 9,2,3,30 the night is said to be a black cow); and "whatever is black belongs to Varuṇa" (ŚB 5,2,5,17 **tád dhí**

vāruṇáṃ yát kṛṣṇám; TS 5,5,11,1 and KS 47,1 váruṇāya rā́jñe kṛ́ṣṇaḥ; KS 13,2 vāruṇáṃ kṛṣṇám; TS 2,1,9,2 kṛṣṇā́ bhavati, vāruṇī́ hy̆ eṣā́ devátayā; cf. further KS 48,3; 49,1; 49,10; 50,1; TS 2,1,9,2).

Stars and blackness are among the principal characteristics of the night sky, and there is general agreement on the stars being meant in ṚS 10,127,1, where the goddess Night (rā́trī) is said to have arrived, looked in many places (or directions) with her (many) eyes, and to have put upon herself all her splendid ornaments (or royal insignia) (rā́trī vyàkhyad āyatī́ purutrā́ devy àkṣábhiḥ víśvā ádhi śríyo 'dhita). In ṚS 7,34,10 Varuṇa is thousand-eyed (váruṇa ugráḥ sahásracakṣāḥ). Why? "Varuṇa is a great lord of the laws of nature", and "much is said about him (and Mitra) as upholder of physical and moral order" (Macdonell 1897: 24). He is the righteous king of the universe, whose duty it is to watch that the eternal laws are followed and to punish wrongdoers. For this reason, Varuṇa vigilantly watches everything that is secret, every deed done and to be done (ṚS 1,25,11). From the high heaven the two sovereigns who uphold law and order (i.e. Mitra and Varuṇa) keep an eye upon (men) like (shepherds) upon herds (ṚS 8,25,7). Like the earthly king, Varuṇa (with or without Mitra) is surrounded by spies (cf. ṚS 1,25,13 quoted above), who are trustworthy and wise (ṚS 6,67,5).

Abel Bergaigne (1883: III,167 = 1978: III,172) suggested that "in the purely naturalistic order of the world the spies of Varuṇa, of the god who chiefly rules over darkness, might here represent the stars, the 'eyes' of night, 10,127,1." He points out that in ṚS 1,33,8 "the spies whom Indra 'envelops' (causes to disappear) in (a ray of) the sun ...appear definitely to be stars" (ibid.). Moreover, in ṚS 4,13,3 and 10,35,8, where a single "spy" is mentioned, he is specified as the sun. In the Ṛgveda, the sun is the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (1,115,1; 6,51,1; 7,61,1; 7,63,1; 10,37,1), or of Varuṇa alone (1,50,6), or of the sun-god Svar/Sūrya (1,164,14; 5,40,8; 5,59,5; 9,10,9; 10,10,9), of Agni (1,115,1), or of gods in general (7,77,3); in other Vedic texts, sun and moon are the eyes of the highest Brahma (cf. AS 10,7,33; also, AS 5,9,7; 5,10,8; ŚB 3,2,2,13) (cf. Macdonell

1897: 23, 48; Kirfel 1920: 18). According to late Ṛgvedic hymns, the sun came into being from the eye of the sacrificed primeval man (púruṣa, ṚS 10,90,13), and the eye of the deceased returns to the sun (ṚS 10,16,3). "Unwinking, not closing one's eyes" (animiṣá) i.e. "ever-looking, vigilant" is an epithet of gods occurring often in the Ṛgveda. In 3,29,14, it refers to Agni spoken of as the sun (which is the eye of Agni or Varuṇa, cf. above). It is also the epithet of Mitra and/or Varuṇa (8,25,9; 3,59,1) and especially of the vigilant spies of Varuṇa (9,73,4; 10,10,8; 7,61,3).

The unwinking vigilance is, according to Amarakoṣa 3,218 (sura-matsyāv animiṣau) a quality shared only by gods and fishes. Fish are actually unable to close their eyes, and the fact that "when the fish sleeps it does not close its eyes" was noticed by ancient Indians (cf. Mahābhārata 3,133,26 matsyaḥ supto na nimiṣati). (Cf. Brown 1947; for the symbolism of the "fish-eyes" see now the explanations for the name of the goddess Mīnākṣī in Shulman 1980: 206 ff.) The dot-in-a-circle similar to that occurring among the trefoils on the Harappan "priest-kings's" robe is identical with the eye of the many small hare- and fish-shaped amulets discovered on the lower levels of Harappa (fig. 17). "Fish" seems to have stood for "star" in the Indus script, both words being homonyms (mīn) in Dravidian (cf. # 1 and 13). The dot-in-a-circle may also be a simplification of the star (or sun) figures occurring on Harappan and Cemetery H painted pottery (fig. 18), where the circles around the dots have rays. In spite of the criticism of Oldenberg (1894: 286 n. 2) and Macdonell (1897: 23), who find Bergaigne's evidence inconclusive (because in the Ṛgveda, "the stars are... never said to watch, nor are the spies connected with night"), the identification of Varuṇa's spies with the stars seems plausible. The dots-in-circles, figures-of-eight and trefoils on the "priest-king's" garment indeed seem to symbolize both stars and eyes (cf. also # 13).

8. The embroidered tārpya garment of the Vedic rituals

In Mesopotamia, the starry garments of the gods were worn not only by their images (to which the Harappan "priest-king" can be compared) but also by their human representative, the priest-king. The garment discussed above of the divine king Varuṇa, too, has a counterpart in the Vedic ritual: the garment called **tārpya**, intimately associated with kingship and - as we shall see in many connections - with Varuṇa or Yama. For one thing, the **tārpya** garment is one of the essential paraphernalia of the unction ceremony (cf. Heesterman 1957: 90 ff.) of the royal consecration (**rājasūya**), which is also called Varuṇa-sava 'Varuṇa's sacrifice'. "This latter name indicates that the royal sacrificer being anointed impersonates the god Varuṇa: 'It is Varuṇa whom they anoint', as Śāṅkh. 15,13,4 asserts. Therefore the waters, being the specific dominion of Varuṇa, hold a great place in the rājasūya: 'the waters are of Varuṇa's nature, anointing him with the waters he has made him (identical with) Varuṇa' (MS 4: 49,17)" (ibid. 85).

The **tārpya** garment is mentioned relatively few times in the Vedic texts, and I shall take all these occurrences into consideration here. It must be noted, first, that the garment is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda, which may be taken as evidence that it was not recognized as a centrally important ritual attire in that tradition. It first appears in the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā (18,4,31, see # 10), which is well known to represent the "unorthodox" tradition. The remaining occurrences all deal with a very restricted selection of rituals, most of which are explicitly royal rites (the references, which sometimes include the relevant context, are to the passages mentioning the word **tārpya**):

(1) traidhātav(ī)yā iṣṭi "rite having three layers or elements" (cf. Caland 1908: no. 178 and Heesterman 1957: 168 f. and 171 f.; this rite is performed at the end of several royal rituals, such as the royal consecration and the horse sacrifice): KS 12,3-4: 165,2 ff., 166,4 ff.; MS 2,4,5: 43,6-11; MŚS 5,2,5,10; TS 2,4,11,5-6; BaudhŚS 13,42: 149,14 f.; ĀpŚS 19,27,21 = HŚS 22,6,27; KŚS 15,7,28-34

(2) special animal sacrifice: KS 13,1: 180,8 ff.; MS 2,5,1: 47,10 ff.
(3) royal consecration (rājasūya; cf. Heesterman 1957): MS 4,4,3: 52,12 ff.; MŚS 9,1,3,8; (cf. TS 1,8,12, f;) TB 1,7,6,4; BaudhŚS 12,9: 98,12 ff., 99,9; ĀpŚS 18,14,1; ŚB 5,3,5,20-26, Kāṇva recension 7,2,4,15-19; KŚS 15,5,7-16; 15,7,25-26;
(4) vājapeya (royal ritual; cf. Weber 1892; Krick 1982: 132 f.): TB 1,3,7,1; BaudhŚS 11,11: 79,11 ff.; 22,15 (Dvaidhasūtra): 138,4; 25,34 (Karmāntasūtra): 270,4 ff.; ĀpŚS 18,5,7-8
(5) (royal) horse sacrifice (aśvamedha; cf. Dumont 1927): TB 3,9,20; BaudhŚS 15,28-29; ĀpŚS 20,17,8-9; HŚS 14,3,56; VārŚS 3,4,4,9-10
(6) (royal) human sacrifice (puruṣamedha): ŚŚS 16,12,20
(7) the three-day rite of Garga (gargatrirātra): PB 21,1,10; JB 2,251; ĀpŚS 22,16,2-3; HŚS 17,6,31.

In general the profane dress is much more subject to changes than the cultic dress, which often preserves very old fashions, particularly on important ceremonial occasions. In Mesopotamia, where such a development can be followed through many millennia, it has been possible to date the succession of generations of gods by means of their dresses representing the styles of different periods. (Cf. Sauren 1983: 97, and above, # 6.) The tārpya garment must be a very ancient dress, because evidently the word was obsolete as early as around 700 B.C., since there is uncertainty about its meaning in one of the oldest Śrautasūtras, that of Baudhāyana (cf. Caland 1908: 126 n. 340). It is here, in the Karmāntasūtra (25,34: 270,4 ff.), that we find the oldest explanations of the word tārpya (repeated by later commentators): "this is a cloth satiated with melted butter" (**ājyenaivaitat tṛptaṃ vāso bhavati**); "but it is also said that this is made of (the bark of) the trees called tṛpā" (**athāpy udāharanti: tṛpā nāma vṛkṣās, teṣām evaitad bhavati**). The correctness of the first explanation is attested by the numerous Ṛgvedic references to Varuṇa's (and Mitra's) "fatty garment" (cf. # 7), which the tārpya garment in my opinion represents; it is significant that the verb tṛp- "to satiate" is used in one such context (7,64,4 **ukṣéthām mitrāvaruṇā ghṛténa tā́ rājānā sukṣitī́s tarpayethām**).

The tṛpā tree is not otherwise known and the word appears to be a learned reconstruction. Govindasvāmin in his commentary specifies the bark (tvac) of tṛpā trees as the material of the tārpya while explaining Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra 1,6,13,12 vāsovat tārpyavṛkalānām "(The cleansing of) the tārpya (garment) and of the intestines (is to be done) as in the case of the (cotton or linen) cloth". The immediately preceding prescription runs: "The cleansing of (cotton or linen) clothes defiled by urine, ordure, blood, semen and the like is done with earth, water and the like" (mūtra-purīṣa-lohita-retaḥ-prabhṛty-upahatānāṃ mṛdādbhir iti prakṣālaṇam). Bühler (1882: 186 f.) has translated "(dresses) made of Tṛpā-bark and vṛkala", understanding vṛkala too to denote some kind of garment. Now the word vṛkala is known, in addition to this place, only from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, where in 12,5,2,5 vṛkala denotes the intestines of the dead body, which are cleansed for ritual purity in the funeral ritual. This interpretation is supported by Govindasvāmin's commentary, which glosses vṛkalāḥ = śakamāḥ (v.l. śakakāḥ); although the latter word is, as pointed out by Bühler, "not found in our dictionaries", it can be understood to be a derivative of śaka 'ordure, dung'. Another possibility is to take vṛkala in the meaning 'part, piece' (of the tārpya garment): in this sense the word is known only from the compound ardha-vṛkala n. 'half part' in BĀU 1,4,3 (Kāṇva recension), corresponding to ardha-bṛgala in the Mādhyandina recension (ŚB 14,4,2,5; cf. also puroḍāśa-bṛgala 'part of the sacrificial cake' ibid. 4,3,1,1-2); the gloss could then be a spelling mistake for śakala 'part, portion, piece'. In any case it is important to note that the tārpya garment is washed like cloth, while the next sūtra says that "(the cleansing) of black antilope skins (is to be done) as in the case of bark dresses" (valkalavat kṛṣṇājinānām). This means that bark dresses and skins were cleansed in a different way, which is not explained. In fact, many texts speak of the tārpya garment as vāsas, whose general meaning is 'woven cloth' (cf. Rau 1971: 29, 31).

The only other ancient explanation for the tārpya garment is found in Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra, which is among the youngest of its kind, dating perhaps from the fourth century B.C. Here the

expression "he makes (the king) put on the tārpya garment" (KŚS 15,5,7 tārpyaṃ paridhāpayati) is followed by the following sūtras: 8 kṣaumam "(it is) linen", 9 tripāṇaṃ vā "or tripāṇa", 10 ghṛtonnam eke "some (authorities say that it is) wetted with melted butter", 11 yajñarūpasyūtam "(it is) sewed with forms of the sacrifice". The last mentioned expression is based on ŚB 5,3,5,20, which we shall discuss in the following. What needs further clarification is the word tripāṇa-, not known in any other place in Sanskrit literature (excepting commentaries citing this explanation). Böhtlingk and Roth (1861: III, 435) take this adjective as a Middle Indo-Aryan form substituting for Sanskrit triparṇa "made of the plant triparṇī", but note that the expected Sanskrit form should have been *traiparṇa, with the vṛddhi grade in the first syllable; alternatively, Wackernagel and Debrunner (1954: II.2, 138) wonder whether the Sanskrit form could have been *tripārṇa-, with the vṛddhi in the second part of the compound. The word tri-parṇī, which means 'having trefoil leaves' (cf. # 17), denotes various plants, notably the wild hemp (Desmodium Gangeticum Dec.) and the wild cotton (vana-kārpāsī). Among the Indian commentators of the KŚS, Karka glosses tripāṇam with triḥkṛtvaḥ pāyitam "which has been made to drink (or suck) three times" (he understands the word vā to express "once" as an implicit alternative); Yājñikadeva comments as follows: "Thread which is woven by satiating it three times with water at the time of weaving is called tṛpyam; the product made of it is tārpya: 'Woven with threads which have been soaked three times', this is the meaning. Some people say that tripāṇa means 'bark-garment'" (vayanakāla udakena tris tarpayitvā yad ūyate sūtraṃ tat tṛpyaṃ tasya vikāras tārpyaṃ triḥpāyitais tantubhir vyūtam ity arthaḥ. ke cit tripāṇaṃ valkalam ity āhuḥ).

In connection with the 'three-layered' (traidhātavya) sacrifice KS 12,3 relates that the tārpya garment is of Asura origin: "The sacrifice ran away from the Asuras (the demons, i.e. the gods of the enemy and their worshippers). After having put the (sacrificial) vessels into the pouched fold (of his garment) and (thereby) having made (for himself) that form into which they embroider the tārpya garments (utsaṅge pātrāṇy opyaitadrūpaṃ

kṛtvā yat tārpyāṇi viṣīvyanti), it came back to Indra; Indra sacrificed with it; from that the gods came into being, the asuras disappeared." (Cf., especially for utsaṅga 'pouched fold of a garment', Gotô 1980: 12.) The parallel text of MS 2,4,5, while discussing the symbolism of the three kinds of sacrificial gifts given at this sacrifice (tārpya garment, milch cow and gold), explains: "The sacrifice is woven like a cloth (vā́sa iva vaí yajñá ūyate). In that they embroider tārpya garments, that is the symbol of the muttered prayers (of the Yajurveda, pronounced by the adhvaryu, the priest who mainly performs the sacrifice: the two other kinds of gifts are identified with the sacrificial songs and recitations of the other Vedas)" (yát tārpyā́ṇi viṣī́-vyanti, yájuṣāṃ tád rūpám).

The root sīv- means 'to sew or stitch (onto or together), embroider', while the preverb vi means 'apart', probably implying that there are many decorations apart from each other (cf. TS 5,4,1,3-4 cited in # 9 for a possible reason why they should not touch each other); Böhtlingk and Roth (1875: VII, 1019) translate vi + sīv- 'an verschiedenen Stellen annähen, durchnähen'. TS 6,2,1,4 speaks of nine potsherds of the sacrificial cake and says that "therefore the head is sewn together nine times" (navadhā́ śíro víṣyūtam); it seems to me that the reference is to the bones of the skull (actually eight in number) and the sutures joining them together like a seam in sewing (Keith 1920: 502 translates "therefore the head has nine apertures"). In Nirukta 1,7 it is said that "boundary (sīman = maryādā) stiches together two countries (viṣīvyati deśāv iti)". Speaking about the decorations of the tārpya garment (see the next paragraph), ŚB 5,3,5,20 has the preverb ni 'down, in, into' in connection with the root sīv- 'to sew' (Böhtlingk and Roth 1875: VII, 1019 translate niṣyūta "eingenäht, so v.a. gestickt").

The later Sūtra texts ĀpŚS 22,16,3 and HŚS 17,6,31, when they describe the decoration of the tārpya garment (see the end of this chapter), use the expression vigrathitaṃ bhavati. The root granth- basically means 'to tie', but the past participle grathita is rendered 'strung, bound, wreathed, woven; joined'. In ŚGS 1,24,11-12 the verb vi+granth- refers to tying a piece of gold

into a hempen string and binding it then on the right hand (śaṇa-sūtrena vigranthya jātarūpaṃ dakṣiṇe pāṇāv apinahya...). In ŚB 3,3,2,18 it clearly refers to tying together by making a knot: "Having gathered up the ends of the Soma-cloth, he (the Adhvaryu) ties them together by means of the head-band (antāv uṣṇīṣena vigrathnāti).... 19. He then makes a finger-hole in the middle (of the knot), with the text, 'Let the descendants breathe after thee!' For, in compressing the cloth, he, as it were, strangles him (Soma and the sacrificer) and renders him breathless..." (transl. Eggeling 1885: II, 68).

The investment of the sacrificer for the unction ceremony of the royal consecration is explained in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (5,3,5,20-24) as follows: "He then makes him (the king) put on garments. There is that one called tārpya; therein are wrought all forms of sacrifice: that he makes him put on, with (the mantra VS 10,8), 'Thou art the inner caul of knighthood (kṣatra)!' He thus causes him to be born from out of what is the inner caul (amnion) of knighthood (áthainaṃ vā́sāṁsi pári dhāpayati. tát tārpyam iti vā́so bhavati. tásmint sárvāṇi yajñarūpā́ṇi ní ṣyūtāni bhavanti. tád enam pári dhāpayati kṣatrásyólbam asíti. tád yád evá kṣatrásyólbaṃ táta évainam etáj janayati). 21. He then makes him put on one of undyed wool (pāṇḍvà), with, 'Thou art the outer caul of knighthood!' He thus causes him to be born from what is the outer caul (chorion) of knighthood. 22. He then throws over the mantle (adhīvāsa), with, 'Thou art the womb of knighthood!' He thus causes him to be born from what is the womb of knighthood. 23. He then draws the head-band (uṣṇīṣa) together, and conceals it (tucks it under) in front, with 'Thou art the navel of knighthood!' He thus places him in what is the navel of knighthood. 24. Now some wind it quite round about (the navel) saying, 'that (band) is his navel, and this navel goes all round.' But let him not do this, but let him merely tuck it under in front, for this navel is in front. And as to why he makes him put on the garments; - he thereby causes him to be born, thinking, 'I will anoint him when born': that is why he makes him put on the garments." (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 85-87).

From this passage it can be concluded that the tārpya garment

was worn next to the skin as an undergarment beneath a dress called pāṇḍvà or (cf. MS 4,4,3: 360,17) pāṇḍarā́ '(made of) whitish (wool)', above which was an 'overcloth' (adhĭvāsas); on the head was a turban. (Cf. Rau 1971: 29.) That the tārpya garment was worn over the hip and upper thighs is clear from the earlier cited passage of KS 12,3 in which the sacrifice puts the (sacrificial) vessels into the 'pouched fold', utsaṅga - the word also denotes the 'lap' of a sitting person (cf. Gotô 1980: 16).

The three pieces of cloth are parallelled by the "three garments" (Pāli ticīvara, Sanskrit tricīvara) of the Buddhist monks, described in the texts on the monastic discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka, see Horner 1952: IV, 398-409) as consisting of the dhoti-like undercloth (Pāli antaravāsaka), an upper-garment or robe (Pāli uttarāsaṅga) and a shawl (Pāli saṅghāṭī). A.B. Griswold (1963) has studied the present-day dresses of the Buddhist monks in many countries and compared them with the early images of the Buddha, finding that the present-day Theravāda tradition in Siam, Burma and Sri Lanka still exactly conforms to the ancient practice. According to Griswold (1963: 86), the three garments are "oblongs of cloth without any tailoring, neckholes, sleeves or trouser-legs. The basic dress consists of two pieces only, an undercloth and an upper garment; the third is a duplicate of the second to be worn for warmth or ceremony."

Keeping in mind Mode's comparison of the Harappan "priest-king's" dress with that of the Buddhist monks (# 3), the following considerations offered by Griswold are worth quoting: "Millions of people in India and Southeast Asia wear a similar waistcloth and a similar upper garment; a familiar example in modern times was Mahatma Gandhi. When the weather is warm they may wear the first only, fastening it around the waist like a sarong or tucking it up like a loincloth. When it is cool tney use the second as a shawl, throwing it over their back and drawing the upper corners forward over the shoulders; then, since they are mostly right-handed, they dispose of the surplus by taking it in the right hand and tossing it backward over the left shoulder. They are now wrapped in what I shall call the **covering mode**. The upper part of the body is completely enveloped, and the

cloth fits snugly around the neck. If they need to use the right arm they can adopt the open mode, that is, sliding the blanket down over the right elbow and passing the upper hem under the right armpit. What could be more natural? These two modes were used since the remotest antiquity. They appear in Egyptian and Mesopotamian sculpture, old Indian reliefs, Greek and Roman statuary" (Griswold 1963: 86).

The Vedic texts prescribe that the performer of a sacrificial ritual should be "clothed for the sacrifice" (yajñopavīta). From late Vedic times onwards (cf. Kane 1941: II.1, 288 ff.) this expression has meant that one is to wear a loop of sacrificial string passing over the left shoulder and beneath the right armpit. This string is received by the brahman boy at his initiation to the teacher, when he starts the brahmacarya, striving for sacred knowledge involving celibacy, begging of alms and other restraints, a mode of life comparable to that of the wandering ascetic (or Buddhist monk) and the consecrated performer of a Vedic sacrifice (cf. Gonda 1965). However, according the oldest Vedic evidence the "sacrificial clothing" was not a string, but an animal hide or cotton cloth (cf. TĀ 2,1 ájinam vāso vā dakṣiṇatá upavīya dákṣiṇaṃ bāhúm úddharaté 'vadhatte savyám íti yajñopavītám). This agrees with the descriptions of the Vedic student's dress as it is described in the different Gṛhyasūtras (for an analysis of this problematic material see M. Parpola 1985). It is interesting to note that several texts (Kauśikasūtra 57,14; ĀśvGS 1,19,11; VaikhGS 2,8: 27,15) prescribe "a brownish-red garment" (kāṣāya), which is the garment traditionally worn by mendicants. From the only piece of cotton surviving from Mohenjodaro we know that the Harappans did dye cloths red with madder (cf. Marshall 1931: 33).

Comparing with a passage that describes the putting on of the tārpya garment in another royal ritual, the vājapeya, Rau (1971: 29) understands TB 1,3,7,1 to mean that the tārpya garment was made of darbha grass (Poa cynosuroides Retz.). The text says: "He makes the sacrificer put the tārpya garment around himself; the tārpya (is or represents) the sacrifice; he perfects him (enam) with the sacrifice. He makes him put the garment made of darbha

grass around himself; the blades of darbha grass (are or represent) purification; he (thereby) purifies him ..." (tārpyáṃ yájamānaṃ páridhāpayati; yajñó vaí tārpyám; yajñénaivaínaṃ sámardhayati. darbhamáyaṃ páridhāpayati; pávitraṃ vái darbhấḥ; punāty evainam ...). Rau has understood that darbhamaya is a synonym of tārpya; but a comparison with other texts makes it clear that they are two separate garments. The medieval commentator explains that the second pronoun enam stands for "the body of the sacrificer's wife" (patnīdeham). This somewhat forced interpretation brings the text into accordance with BaudhŚS 11,11: 79,14 f., which explicitly states that the tārpya is wrapped around the sacrificer, with the mantra 'thou art the inner caul (amnion) of kingship', and the darbhamaya around the wife with the formula 'thou art the womb of kingship' (atha yajamānaṃ tārpyaṃ paridhāpayati kṣatrasyolbam asīti kṣatrasya yonir asīti darbhamayaṃ patnīm). In the Dvaidhasūtra (BaudhŚS 22,15: 138,4) it is said that the sūtra text represents Baudhāyana's opinion; according to his rival Śālīki, however, "he should make the sacrificer put both of these (garments) around himself" (atha yajamānaṃ tārpyaṃ paridhāpayatīti: sūtram baudhāyanasyobhe evaite yajamānaṃ paridhāpayed iti śālīkiḥ).

Thus darbhamaya would correspond to the "white" outer garment in the royal consecration of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Baudhāyana's interpretation makes it parallel to the cáṇḍātaka garment in the description of the vājapeya ritual in ŚB 5,2,1,8: "the Neṣṭar priest, being about to lead up the (Sacrificer's) wife, makes her wrap round herself, over the garment of consecration, a caṇḍātaka skirt made of kuśa grass...But impure is that part of woman which is below the navel, and pure are the plants of (kuśa) grass: thus having, by means of those plants of (kuśa) grass, made pure whatever part of her is impure, he causes her to propitiate the sacrifice, while coming forward." In JB 3,265 apsarases (divine dancing girls) wear golden caṇḍātakas. (Cf. Rau 1971: 29.)

But let us return to the investiture of the king with the tārpya garment at the royal consecration. As noted by Eggeling (1894: III, 86 n. 1), "according to the commentators, figures of sacrificial spoons, cups, etc., are sewn in /to the tārpya gar-

ment/ by means of a needle" (cf. Sāyaṇa on ŚB 5,3,5,20 **yajñarūpāṇi srukcamasādīni tatra syūtāni bhaveyuḥ**; similarly the commentators of KŚS 15,5,10). This is in agreement with the passage KS 12,3 discussed above, which implies (sacrificial) 'vessels' (or 'implements' in general), **pātrāṇi**, as the embroidered images . The expression **yajña-rūpāṇi** means simply 'symbols of sacrifice': in ŚB 12,8,2,15 the clarified butter (offered into fire) is mentioned as a manifest 'symbol of sacrifice' (**yajña-rūpam**) (for **rūpa** as the Vedic expression for 'symbol' see Parpola 1979).

Rau (1971: 29) comments: "Deuten wir ŚB 5,3,5,20 richtig, so konnten Muster darein gestickt oder darauf geheftet werden." He translates: "Dabei gibt es das Gewand **tārpya**: auf das sind sämtliche Erscheinungsformen des Opfers geheftet." Rau refers in this connection to several places in classical Sanskrit literature (ca. 5th cent. A.D.) mentioning a fine cloth for ladies made of the fibre of the **dukūla** plant (Anodedron paniculatum, cf. Turner 1966: no. 6389) and marked with images of geese or pairs of geese (Kumārasaṃbhava 5,67 **vadhūdukūlaṃ kalahaṃsalakṣanaṃ**; Raghuvaṃśa 17,25 **haṃsacihnadukūlavān**; Harṣacarita ed. Führer p. 274,2 **rājahaṃsamithunalakṣmaṇī sadṛśe dugūle**).

Particularly valuable is Rau's reference to ŚB 6,7,1,6-7, according to which "it (i.e. the golden plate) is sewn up in a black antelope skin" (/**rukmaḥ**/ **kṛṣṇājine níṣyūto bhavati**). This expression is quite parallel to ŚB 5,3,5,20 **tásmint sárvāṇi yajñarūpáṇi níṣyūtāni bhavanti**. The black antelope skin serves as the "garment of consecration" in an ordinary soma sacrifice and has the same symbolism (womb and sacrifice) and function as the tārpya garment of the royal sacrificer (cf. Heesterman 1957: 97 f.). Heesterman (1957: 3) has indeed noted: "The śrauta sacrifice and especially the Soma sacrifice is imbued with the idea of kingship, and the common Soma sacrificer, whose consecretion (dīkṣā) strikingly resembles the royal unction rites, seems to have had the king as his prototype."

This comparison is, therefore, relevant for an understanding of the decorations of the tārpya garment, and I would like to quote here a passage on the symbolism of this golden plate in the fire altar ritual from ŚB 6,7,1,1 ff.: "He hangs a gold plate

(round his neck), and wears it; for that gold plate is the truth, and the truth is able to sustain that (fire which the Sacrificer will carry about in a pan during his consecration period): by means of the truth the gods carried it, and by means of the truth does he now carry it. 2. Now that truth is the same as yonder sun. It is a gold (plate), for gold is light, and he (the sun) is the light; gold is immortality, and he is immortality. It (the plate) is round, for he (the sun) is round. It has twenty-one knobs, for he is the twenty-first. He wears it with the knobs outside, for the knobs are his (the sun's) rays, and his rays are outside. 3. And as to why he puts on and wears the gold plate; - that plate is yonder sun, and man, in his human form, is unable to sustain that fire: it is only in this (solar or divine) form that he bears that (divine) form. 4. And, again, why he puts on and wears the gold plate; - this fire is seed poured out here; and the gold plate means vital energy (or brilliance) and vigour: he thus lays vital energy and vigour into that seed. 5. And, again, why he puts on and wears the gold plate; - the gods now were afraid lest the Rakṣas, the fiends, should destroy here that (fire, Agni) of theirs. They made that (plate), yonder sun, to be his (Agni's) protector (standing) by his side, for the gold plate is yonder sun... 6. It is sewn up in a black antelope skin; for the black antelope skin is the sacrifice, and the sacrifice is able to sustain that (Agni): by means of the sacrifice the gods carried him, and by means of the sacrifice he now carries him; - with the hair (inside), for the hair are the metres, and the metres are indeed able to sustain him... 8. He wears it over the navel; for that gold plate is yonder sun, and he (stands) over the navel (of the earth or sky). 9. And, again, why over the navel, - below the navel is the seed, the power of procreation, and the gold plate represents vital energy and vigour..." (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 265-267.)

A more definite description of the figures sewn into the tārpya garment than Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa's "forms (or symbols) of sacrifice" is given in connection with the three-day rite of Garga. According to ĀpŚS 22,16,3 and HŚS 17,6,31, which are almost identical, "in that (tārpya garment: HŚS adds this word)

is tied the form of the fireplaces" (tasmin /tārpye HŚS/ dhiṣṇiyānāṃ rūpaṃ vigrathitaṃ bhavati). Heesterman (1957: 92 n. 2) understands this to mean that the tārpya garment "is decorated with images of the dhiṣṇiyas... (i.e. probably a series of circles)" (Heesterman 1957: 92 n. 2). This would match well the devices on the "priest-king's" cloak.

9. The embroidered circles and trefoils as images of fireplaces

The Vedic tārpya garment, then, was decorated with images of dhiṣṇiyas resembling the circular patterns on the Harappan "priest-king's" garment. In order to understand the symbolism of these images we must subject the term dhiṣṇ(i)ya to a close scrutiny.

In the Vedic ritual, the word dhiṣṇ(i)ya in the strict sense denotes the fireplaces of seven priests officiating in a soma sacrifice; six of these are built in a row in the sitting-hall (from south to north, the praśāstar, also called maitrāvaruṇa, the hotar, the brāhmaṇācchaṃsin, the potar, the neṣṭar, the acchāvāka), each having a diameter or side of 18 fingerbreadths and separated from the next by an interval of 18 fingerbreadths; the seventh (belonging to the agnīdh or fire-kindler) is in a separate shed on the northern border of the sacrificial area. In addition there is an 8th fireplace opposite the 7th on the southern border, also in a shed of its own, used for cleaning the sacrificial vessels. (Fig. 19.) In the ordinary soma sacrifice, these square or circular fireplaces are made of loose earth taken from the cātvāla pit (cf. HŚS 7,7 p. 723 cātvālat purīṣam āhṛtya dhiṣṇiyān nivapati caturaśrān parimaṇḍalān vā) and covered with sand, but when a fire-altar (agni-citi) is built, they are built with bricks. The term dhiṣṇ(i)ya is sometimes extended to include other important parts of the sacrificial area which are not fireplaces, such as the cātvāla pit from which the loose earth for the preparation of the dhiṣṇya fireplaces is taken, the "rubbish heap" (utkara), etc.; altogether different texts include more than thirty items in the dhiṣṇyas to be worshipped (cf. Böhtlingk & Roth 1861: III, 962 f.; Caland & Henry 1906-07: 104

ff. no. 99 & 100; Sen 1978: 75 f.; Parpola 1968: I.1, 128 ff.).

If the circles on the "priest-king's" garment represent fireplaces, it becomes understandable why they have been filled with a red paste - the colour of fire - and why the trefoil pattern elsewhere too is associated with the colour red (# 4).

But why should a fireplace be represented by a trefoil? Traditionally, the fireplace in an Indian kitchen consists of three stones set apart so that the kettles and other utensils can be placed firmly over the fire. My friend Oppi Untracht (oral communication) has drawn my attention to this fact and told that sometimes (as he himself has seen in India) a mud wall is plastered around the three stones, so as to prevent the ashes from spreading about; he was strongly reminded of this when he saw the trefoil motif. The three stones correspond to the dots inside the lobes of the trefoils.

The use of supports could explain the curious fact that "with the exception of three somewhat doubtful examples, there are no fireplaces at Mohenjo-daro" (Marshall 1931: I, 16). Of course this statement does not mean that no cooking was done in this great Harappan city, simply that "the fireplaces were nothing more than slightly raised platforms, usually placed along one side of the room, and both charcoal and wood were used as fuel. In one house in the HR Area there was an arrangement for boiling water; the vessels were set on a high brick stand with an ample space beneath for the fuel" (Mackay 1931: I, 276). If cooking stands were used, they should have been found in the excavations. Probably this is in fact the case: "The enigmatic terra-cotta 'cakes'... are triangular-shaped objects which often bear signs of having been close to fire. One theory would have these used as supports for cooking vessels" (Fairservis 1975: 287 f.). There is a "great abundance" of these flat triangular cakes (cf. Wheeler 1968: 93). We shall return to these triangular cakes and Harappan fireplaces in # 14 and 17.

Definite evidence for a fireplace with three stones comes from the Jhukar levels at Chanhu-daro: "There was a somewhat more elaborate fire-place (Pl. XVII,f /our fig. 20/) in one of the re-occupied houses (Square 8/E, room 46,91); indeed, it was made as

a recess in the upper part of an ancient doorway and measured 2 feet 1 1/2 inches long by 1 foot 8 1/2 inches deep. In it there still remained the three bricks on end that had supported the cooking vessels (note 9: There bricks were cut down from a larger size and measure 5 1/4 x 4 x 3 ins. in size) and there were ashes both on the the floor of the recess and on the earth pavement in front of it... There were other recessed fire-places of this type, which seems peculiar to the people of the Jhukar period... That these niches were actually used as fire-places and not as cupboards or the like is proved by the thick bed of ashes found on the floors of three of them" (Mackay 1943: 24 f). The Jhukar culture is considered to be "Late Harappan" in the sense that the occupation by the local population continued without any major break after the end of the Mature Indus period. However, characteristically Harappan elements were steadily reduced and replaced by the Jhukar style. The newly introduced features often suggest that they had been brought into the Indus valley by immigrants coming from Iran and Central Asia, more particularly the Hissar III culture during the early half of the second millennium B.C. (Cf. Allchin, B. & R. 1982: 241 f.) Cf. # 13.

But on the basis of references to Varuṇa's starred dress (# 7) and the Mesopotamian parallels (# 6), we would have expected the embroidered patterns of the tārpya garment to represent stars and not fireplaces. A closer study of the meanings of the word dhiṣṇ(i)ya used by Āpastamba and Hiraṇyakeśin reveals that in later astronomical texts it is occasionally used in the meaning 'star': cf. e.g. ajāṅghri-dhiṣṇya 'the constellation Pūrva Bhadrapada, whose deity is Ajāṅghri, the Goat-footed one' in Vasiṣṭha-Saṃhitā 37,27; and atīta-dhiṣṇya 'past asterism' in Sūrya-Siddhānta 8,1 (for further references, see Böhtlingk & Roth 1861: III, 963).

A striking explanation for this double symbolism is found in the epic description of Arjuna's journey to the heavenly world of Indra (Mahābhārata 3,43). Arjuna flies upwards into the sky in a divine car driven by Indra's charioteer, Mātali. "While becoming invisible to the mortals who walk on earth, he saw wondrous airborne chariots by the thousands. No sun shone there, or moon, or fire, but they shone with a light of their own acquired by

their merits. Those lights that are seen as the stars look tiny like oil flames because of the distance, but they are very large. The Pāṇḍava saw them bright and beautiful, burning on their own hearths (dhiṣṇya) with a fire of their own. There are the perfected royal seers, the heroes cut down in war, who, having won heaven with their austerities, gather in hundreds of groups. So do thousands of Gandharvas with a glow like the sun's or the fire's, and of Guhyakas and seers and the hosts of Apsaras. Beholding those self-luminous worlds, Phalguna, astonished, questioned Mātali in a friendly manner, and the other said to him, 'Those are men of saintly deeds, ablaze on their own hearths, whom you saw there, my lord, looking like stars from earth below' (ete sukṛtinaḥ pārtha sveṣu dhiṣṇyeṣv avasthitāḥ, yān dṛṣṭavān asi vibho tārārūpāṇi bhūtale)." (Transl. Buitenen 1975: II, 308).

This is not the only such place in the Māhābharata. In 3,290,20, princess Kuntī, given divine eyesight by the sun-god, "saw all the thirty gods, who stood in the sky upon their own hearths" (tato 'paśyat tridaśān rājaputrī sarvān eva sveṣu dhiṣṇyeṣu khasthān).

The original version of the Mahābhārata was composed between about 800 and 400 B.C., but the present redaction was not concluded before about 400 A.D.; it is a composite text, whose traditions go partly back to the early Vedic and even pre-Vedic times (cf. Winternitz 1908: I, 394 ff.; Weber 1891; Horsch 1966; Parpola 1983; 1984). There is, however, no need to rely on any reconstructions in order to prove that the association of the dhiṣṇya-fireplaces with the stars is of great antiquity, for it can be directly traced back to early Vedic texts.

That the stars in the sky were understood to be the heavenly abodes of holy people even in early Vedic times, is explicitly stated in TS 5,4,1,3-4 (the passage deals with the piling of bricks upon the fire altar): "He puts down the constellation bricks; these are the lights of the sky (divó jyótīṁṣi); verily he wins them; the Nakṣatras are the lights of the doers of good deeds (sukṛ́tāṃ vā́ etā́ni jyótīṁṣi yán nákṣatrāṇi); verily he wins them; verily also he makes these lights into a reflection to light up the world of heaven. If he were to place them in con-

tact, he would obstruct the world of rain, Parjanya would not rain; he puts them down without touching; verily he produces the world of rain, Parjanya is likely to rain; on the east he puts down some pointing west, on the west some pointing east; therefore the constellations move both west and east" (transl. Keith 1914: II, 429).

The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa also refers to the stars as the lights of holy people, but at the same time explains the name **dhiṣṇya** in a passage which describes the making of the fire pot. In the fire altar ritual, this pot is to be carried about by the sacrificer during his period of consecration. The fuel for burning the pan is kindled: (6,5,4,5.) "'May the divine Dhiṣaṇās, dear to all the gods, kindle thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth!' for of old the divine Dhiṣaṇās, dear to all the gods, indeed kindled it, like Aṅgiras, in the lap of the earth, and with their help he now kindles it. But surely, this is Vāc (speech), - the Dhiṣaṇās are indeed speech, for by speech everything is kindled here: by means of speech he thus kindles this (fire-pan). Whilst looking at it, he then mutters these three formulas: (6.) 'May the divine protectresses, dear to all the gods, heat thee, O fire pan, Aṅgiras-like, in the lap of the earth! for of old ... earth; and by them he now heats it. But, surely, these are the days and nights, - the protectresses are indeed the days and nights; for by days and nights everything is covered here: by means of the days and nights he thus heats it. (7.) 'May the divine ladies, dear to all gods, bake thee, Angiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth!' for of old are the metres, - the ladies (**gnā**) are indeed the metres (scripture texts), for by means of these men go (**gam**) to the celestial world: by means of the metres he thus bakes it. (8.) 'May the divine women, with unclipped wings, dear to all the gods, bake thee, Aṅgiras-like, O fire-pan, in the lap of the earth!' for of old ...earth; and with their help he now bakes it. But, surely, these are the stars, - the women (**jani**) are indeed the stars, for these are the lights of those righteous men (**jana**) who go to the celestial world: it is by means of the stars that he thus bakes it (**tắni há tắni nákṣatrāṇy evá nákṣatrāṇi vaí jánayo yé hí janāḥ**

puṇyakṛtaḥ svargáṃ lokáṃ yánti téṣām etắni jyótīṃṣi nákṣatrair evaînām etát pacati)." (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 242-4).

The fire-pot (movable hearth) discussed in this passage corresponds to the 'hearth' or 'fireplace', whose name, dhiṣṇya, is derived from a goddess or goddesses called Dhiṣaṇā(s) mentioned above (cf. Johansson 1917: 105 f.). The exact nature and etymology of Dhiṣaṇā(s) is not clear (cf. Johansson 1917 and Mayrhofer 1963: II, 103 f. with further references). In the singular the goddess is often interpreted as representing earth and in the dual heaven and earth; ṚS 5,69,2 mentions three Dhiṣaṇās who are, apparently as cows, equated to the three worlds, fertilized by three shining bulls (probably, as the commentator explains, the fire on the earth, the wind in the atmosphere, and the sun in the heaven). Interestingly, the grinding stones (upala and dṛṣad) are addressed with the formula "Thou art Dhiṣaṇā, the mountain / coming from the mountain" (VS 1,19 d,f, cf. ŚB 1,2,1,15-17). Could the reference to Dhiṣaṇās in connection with the 'hearth' be to the three stones of the Indian kitchen-fire?

10. Astralization of the sacrificer and the tārpya garment

Significantly, all the references cited in the previous chapter agree that it is ancient sacrificers who shine in the sky upon their own hearths. In the śrauta ritual there are three sacred fires, the āhavanīya, gārhapatya and the dakṣiṇāgni, which a man who has established sacred fires is obliged to keep burning the rest of his life. (Fig. 19.) Two of these, the āhavanīya and the gārhapatya, are used daily in the agnihotra sacrifices for the rising and setting sun.

The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā is most explicit in connecting the stars with ancient sacrificers (1,8,6: 123,18 ff.): "If someone, after having given much (as sacrificial gifts or as alms) and having sacrificed much, removes (i.e. gives up, or rather has to give up) his fires, this (i.e. the fruit of his giving and sacrificing) is not lost (ná..'kṣít) for him. The virtuous who have offered this reach (nakṣanti) yonder world. They are these stars (nákṣatrāṇi) (tád Ījānắ vaí sukṛ́to 'múṃ lokáṃ nakṣanti; té vắ eté

yán nákṣatrāṇi). When there is said: 'Light (from heaven) has fallen down, a meteor has fallen down', then these (virtuous) are falling down. After having come and stayed (there) they become associated with their own place (or position: loka) (on earth), when they fall down from yonder world. And he who has given much and sacrificed much and offers the agnihotra, performs the New and Fullmoon sacrifices, the Fourmonthly sacrifices and undertakes many sattras, for him this (store of iṣṭāpūrta) is inexhaustible and unlimited. The sacrifice lasts beyond the one who has sacrificed it. Therefore he should be cremated by these very two (sacrificial) fires. Thereby he rises after his own (merit of stored up sacrificial rites". (Transl. Bodewitz 1976: 161.) .

The word iṣṭāpūrtá "sacrifice and pious works" occurs only once in the Ṛgveda, in a funeral hymn addressed to Yama, the King of the dead: ṚS 10,14,8 "Unite with the fathers, with Yama, with (your) sacrifices and (other) pious works in the highest heaven! Leaving (behind on earth) what is blameworthy, return to (your heavenly) home! Unite with (your new) body beautifully shining (suvárcāḥ)!"

The Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā already refers to the special funerary ceremonies of a person who has established the sacred fires. It is evident that these funerary rites are the means by which the astralization is effected. Significantly, there is great concern about the sacred fires in this connection. Thus we read in ŚB 12,5,2,13: "They also say, 'If that performer of a long sacrificial session - to wit, he who (regularly) offers the Agnihotra (i.e. sacrifice into the fire at every sunrise and every sunset) - were to die whilst staying abroad, how would they supply him with his fires?' Well, some, having burnt him, bring (the bones) home and make the fires smell him as he is brought; but let him not do this, for this would be as if he were to seek to cause the seed implanted in one womb to be born forth from another womb. Having brought home the bones, let him throw them on a black antelope skin, and arrange them in accordance with man's form, and having covered him with wool and sprinkled with ghee, let him by burning unite him with his fires; he thus causes him to be born from his own (maternal) womb." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V,

200 f.) From this passage it is clear that the sacrificial fires are understood to be a womb from which the dead will be (re)born (into the heavenly world).

Discussing the normal burial of a sacrificer, the same text says in 12,5,1,17: "And some, indeed, build up a funeral pile in the midst of the (three) fires, and, by burning him, unite him with his fires, thinking, 'There, - to wit, in the midst of his fires, - assuredly is the Sacrificer's abode'." This is elaborated in 12,5,2,1: "Now, Nāka Maudgalya once said, 'If he believe the Sacrificer to be about to die, let him take up the two fires in the churning-sticks, and, having churned out (a new fire), let him continue offering (the Agnihotra) at whatever place may have commended itself to him for immolation (lit. cutting up, namely of the barren cow sacrificed at the funeral?). And if the Sacrificer should then depart this world, - 2. Let him build a pile for him (or: let him build him, i.e. the dead body, up as a pile) in the midst of his fires, and, by burning him, unite him with his fires." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 201 f.)

Now follows the cleansing of the intestines (vṛkalāḥ) - mentioned in Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra together with the tārpya garment (cf. # 8) - of all foul matter (ŚB 12,5,2,5); after being washed, the intestines were, according to the lost Śāṭyāyana-Brāhmaṇa, filled with ghee and put back in their place. Caland (1896: 15) notes that this custom must have become obsolete very early, and that it was no longer followed at the time of the texts mentioning it, because they object to this practice (as they do to placing the dead in the midst of the three fires); Caland (1896: 166) considers the custom as a survival of an earlier inhumation burial, which was disposed of when burning became the prevalent mode. After the body has been washed and anointed with melted butter, it is dressed for the last time, with the formula "This garment hath now come first to thee" (AS 18,2,57a).

At this point the Śaunaka school (cf. Kauśikasūtra 80,17) inserts the recital of our oldest reference to the tārpya garment, which is not found in the other Vedas nor used in their ritual: AS 18,4,31 "This garment god Savitar /the sun/ gives thee to wear; putting on that, which is tārpya, do thou go about in

Yama's realm (tát tvấṃ yamásya rấjye vásānas tārpyàṃ cara)" (transl. Whitney 1905: II, 879). Before giving the usual clarification of the term tārpya, the commentator first explains it with the glosses tarpaṇārhaṃ prītikaraṃ 'fit for or capable of satisfying, i.e. causing satisfaction or pleasure'. The word tarpaṇa 'satisfying' is the technical term used for the daily water offerings to the gods and to the deceased. Thereafter the Śaunakins finish the first verse, which alone is used in the ritual of the Taittirīyas: "remove that one which thou didst wear here before; enjoy the reward of your sacrifices, of the gifts that you have given even to people without relatives". (Cf. Caland 1896: 16.)

The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa continues: 12,5,2,6. "He then inserts seven chips of gold in the seven seats of his vital airs; for gold is light and immortality: he thus bestows light and immortality on him." (Cf. Caland 1896: 47 f.) 7."Having then built a pile for him in the midst of his fires, and spread out a black antelope skin with the hairy side upwards, and the neck-part towards the east, he lays him down thereon with the face looking upwards, and puts the juhū-spoon filled with ghee on his right, and the upabhṛt on his left hand, the dhruva on the breast, the Agnihotra-ladle on the mouth, the two dipping-spoons on the nostrils, the two prāśitra-haraṇas on the ears, the cup used for carrying forward the lustral water on the head, the two winnowing-baskets at the sides, on the belly the vessel used for holding the cuttings (of the iḍā), filled with clotted ghee, the wedge (yoke-pin) beside the male organ, two mallets besides the testicles, and behind them the mortar and pestle, the other sacrificial vessels between the thighs; and the wooden sword on the right hand. 8. Thus supplied with the sacrificial weapons (implements), that Sacrificer passes to that place which has been won by him in heaven, even as if one who fears spoliation were to escape it; and, verily, those fires (which are) to be enkindled (will) lovingly touch him, even as sons lovingly touch their father when he comes home after staying abroad, and make everything ready for him ...13. This, then, is that offering of the Sacrificer's body which he performs at the end: from out of that

place which has been won by him in heaven he arises immortal in the form of an oblation ... 15. Either a son (of the deceased), or a brother, or some other Brāhmaṇa then performs that offering, with (VS 35,22), 'From out of him thou (O Agni) art born: from out of thee let this N.N. be born again into the heavenly world, hail!' They then go away without looking back, and touch water." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 203-205).

This piling of the sacrificial implements (pātra-cayanam) upon the dead body which was once wrapped in the tārpya garment seems to explain why "sacrificial implements" are mentioned as the form of the embroideries of the tārpya garment in KS 12,3 and in the commentary on ŚB 5,3,5,20 (# 8). The rite ensures that the deceased will arrive in Yama's realm with his sacrificial fires and all his sacrificial implements. Just as the birth rites are necessary for a person to be born into this world, so are the funeral rites necessary for him to be born into yonder world. (Cf. Caland 1896: 174 ff.) His three sacrificial fires function thereby as the womb, and the tārpya garment apparently as the embryonic cover, as in the royal consecration.

11. Yama / Varuṇa: the king of the heavenly realm of the dead and the "first mortal"

According to ṚS 10,14,7, the deceased on reaching heaven sees the two kings Yama and Varuṇa (**ubhā́ rā́jānā svadháyā mádantā / yamáṃ paśyāsi váruṇaṃ ca devám**). This reference, among others, suggests that these two 'righteous kings' guarding the cosmic and moral order and punishing evil-doers were identified quite early. The partial identity of Yama and Varuṇa has already been suggested by earlier scholars (cf. Johansson 1917: 128 f.), but it is useful to mention here some important evidence (cf. also # 7 and # 15).

In classical Hinduism, Yama is the god of death; his colour is black and his mount the dark water-buffalo (fig. 16) (cf. Mallmann 1963: 128 f.). The water-buffalo is sacrificed at funerals for example by the Dravidian-speaking tribe of the Todas in South India (cf. Rivers 1906: 337-404). In AS 18,3,13 king

Yama is said to be the first of the mortals, the first who went forth to yonder world" (**yó mamā́ra prathamó mártyānāṃ yáḥ preyā́ya prathamó lokā́m etā́m**), where he rules as the king of the deceased. Yama's path (ṚS 1,38,5) is death, and he is identified with Death (**mṛtyú**) (cf. ṚS 1,165,4; AS 6,28,31; 6,93,1 and MS 2,5,6; 3,4,6; 4,4,2 **mṛtyúr vaí yamáḥ**). In the Veda, too, he is connected with the colour black (MS 3,14,11 **yamā́ya kṛ́ṣṇaḥ**).

Varuṇa, too, is identified with Death, and with the associated concepts of darkness and the colour black (cf. # 7), which are equated with evil/sin (TS 5,1,8,6; ŚB 12,9,2,8 **pāpmā́ vaí támaḥ**) and death (KS 10,6 **tamo mṛtyuḥ**). Thus KS 13,2: 181,7 ff. says "When practising witchcraft one should sacrifice a black ram, which belongs to Varuṇa. For Varuṇa is Death (**mṛtyur vai varuṇo**). So he causes Death to seize upon him ..." (cf. also ŚB 12,7,2,17). VS 24,28 even mentions buffaloes as the animals to be sacrificed to Varuṇa (**váruṇāya mahiṣā́n, scil. ā́ labhate**).

Varuṇa is also the earlier name of Prajāpati "Lord of (Pro)-creation" (cf. Eggeling 1900: V, xviii ff.; Johansson 1917: 132 n. 1; Heesterman 1957: 88 n. 38). Prajāpati is identified with the primeval man (**puruṣa**), who was the victim of the first sacrifice, and whose cut-off limbs became this universe, the prototype of the human sacrifice (cf. ŚŚS 16,10,1 ff. with ŚB 13,6,1,1 ff. and RS 10,90). Varuṇa, then, resembles Yama also as "the first mortal", the first man to die.

That Varuṇa was identified with an old man who in all likelihood originally was drowned, can be seen from the very last of the 132 oblations representing the different portions of the victim in the horse sacrifice. This oblation, withheld up to the final avabhṛtha bath, is described in ŚB 13,3,6,5 as follows: "With, 'To Jumbhaka hail!' he offers, at the purificatory bath, the last oblation; for Jumbhaka is Varuṇa: by sacrifice he thus manifestly redeems himself from Varuṇa. He offers it on the head of a white-spotted (? **śveta** 'white'), bald-headed (man) with protruding teeth and reddish brown eyes; for that is Varuṇa's form: by (that) form (of his) he thus redeems himself from Varuṇa" (Eggeling 1900: V, 343). According to ŚŚS 16,18,18-21 the man belonged to Atri's clan and was bought with a thousand cows (note

that the victim of the human sacrifice was bought with a thousand cows and a hundred horses, ŚŚS 16,10,9); he was taken to water and immersed in it until the water came to his mouth; then the adhvaryu priest poured the horse's blood upon his head, reciting a mantra addressed to "embryo-killing"; then the old man is driven away. ĀpŚS 20,22,6 records three mantras, the first addressed to Death (Mṛtyu), the second to embryo-killing and the last to Jumbaka. (For further details cf. Weber 1868: 62 ff.; Johansson 1917: 125 f., 131.) The man representing Varuṇa here has many characteristics that remind one of his later vehicle, the crocodile-like water-monster makara: he was in water up to his mouth, he was bald, had protruding teeth, and was identified with death. Moreover, the name śiśumāra used of the crocodile or alligator means 'baby-killer'.

In the (royal) human sacrifice, according to Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra (16,12,20) "then they spread out for the human victim a garment of the kuśa grass, a tārpya garment, and a red garment with hems (atha puruṣāyopastṛṇanti kauśam tārpyam āruṇam āṁśavam iti; the word āṁśava is glossed paṭṭasūtramaya by the commentator). (21.) When he is 'quieted' (i.e. strangled), the udgātar priest sings over him, standing near him, the sacrificial song addressed to Yama. (16,13,1.) And the hotar priest recites over it the Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa hymn (ṚS 10,90). (2.) Then the principal priests address to it two verses each of the hymn "Him who has gone hence" (ṚS 10,14,1-8)... (7.) When the human victim has been quieted, they cause the first consort of the sacrificer (the king) to lie down near him. (8.) They cover both of them with the upper garment (tāv adhīvāsena saṃprorṇuvate)." (Cf. Caland 1953: 456.)

The (royal) horse sacrifice is described as identical with the human sacrifice, save for a few details, the most important of which is that the chief sacrificial animal is here a horse instead of man (cf. ŚŚS 16,10,2). The Taittīriya-Brāhmaṇa (3,9,20,1) explains the horse sacrifice as follows: "the horse is strangled by means of the tārpya garment; the tārpya garment represents the sacrifice; they perfect him with the sacrifice (tārpyénāśvaṁ sáṃjñapayanti; yajñó vaí tārpyám; yajñénaivaínaṁ

sámardhayanti). The udgātar priest accompanies this by chanting the song addressed to Yama while standing reverently nearby; he makes him go to the world of Yama. They strangle the horse upon the tārpya garment and an overcloth consisting of hide (tārpyé ca kṛttyadhīvāsé cáśvaṁ sáṃjñapayanti); this is the form (symbol) of cattle; he attains cattle by means of its form. There is a golden pillow, for the sake of obtaining brilliance. There is a golden plate, for beholding the heavenly world. There is the horse, for the obtainment of the Lord of Creation (Prajāpati). The tārpya garment is the form (symbol) of this world, the overcloth consisting of hide (the form) of the atmosphere, the golden pillow (the form) of the sky, the golden plate (the form) of the sun, the horse (the form) of the Lord of Creation. He obtains this world by means of the tārpya garment,... by means of the sacrificed horse he obtains an intimate union with the Lord of Creation and presence in his world. He who knowing thus sacrifices with the horse sacrifice obtains an intimate union with these very deities, an equal rank with them, and presence in the same world with them." Here the tārpya garment is equated with the earth: the dhiṣṇya figures embroidered upon it would then represent the hearths, where the sun in the form of fire spends the night as an embryo (cf. # 13).

The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa explains the horse sacrifice as follows: (13,2,8,1.) "Now the gods, when going upwards, did not know (the way to) the heavenly world, but the horse knew it: when they go upwards with the horse, it is in order to know (the way to) the heavenly world. 'A cloth (vā́sas: corresponds to tārpya in ĀpŚS 20,17,8), an upper cloth (adhivāsá: corresponds to kṛttyadhivāsa 'overcloth consisting of skin' ibid.) and gold', this is what they spread out for the horse: thereon they quiet (slay) it, as (is done) for no other victim; and thus they separate it from the other victims. (2.) When they quiet a victim they kill it. Whilst it is being quieted, he (the Adhvaryu) offers (three) oblations, with (VS 23,18), 'To the breath hail! to the off-breathing hail! to the through-breathing hail! he thereby lays the vital airs into it, and thus offering is made by him with this victim as a living one." According to the Baudhāyana-Śrauta-

sūtra (15,29: 234,8 f.), the adhvaryu priest covers the slain horse and the chief consort of the king with the tārpya garment (tāv adhvaryus tārpyeṇa saṃprorṇoti), while the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (13,5,2,2) states: "they cause the Mahiṣī to lie down near the horse, and cover her up with the upper cloth, with 'In heaven ye envelop yourselves', - for that indeed is heaven where they immolate the victim ..., 'May the vigorous male, the layer of seed, lay seed!' she says for the completeness of union." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 386.)

Heesterman (1957: 97) comments: "We may interpret this as meaning that the horse, being immolated, is covered again with the embryonic covers, and through his copulation with the mahiṣī enters the womb again to be reborn." The royal consecration, where the tārpya garment is also used and has the womb symbolism, is the ritual context of the Śunaḥśepa legend. Central to this legend is the identity of the son with his father, who is said to be reborn after having entered again into the womb in the form of his seed; and it is the firstborn of the king who is to be slaughtered to Varuṇa in a human sacrifice (cf. Horsch 1966: 78 ff., 285 ff.). It seems likely to me that the horse/human sacrifice originally celebrated the death of the "old sun" (Varuṇa-Prajāpati) and his rebirth as the "new sun" (the "ruddy" Rudra-Rohita), his son, at the new year (mahāvrata), or rather, at both the equinoxes. The same cyclical death and rebirth takes place not only yearly but daily; in the daily cycle, the old, dying sun will be covered with the dark cloth of night, out of which the morning sun will rise, as the creator from the cosmic ocean of chaos.

The use of the garment as a means of killing in the Taittirīya ritual seems to be secondary, for Ṛgveda 1,162,9 testifies to slaughter with a knife: the earlier mode agrees with the bloody sacrifices to the Hindu goddess Durgā/Kālī, in which the victims are decapitated with a sword or a sickle (cf. Heesterman 1967). The spreading of a garment, an upper garment and pieces of gold for the horse is mentioned in the same hymn (1,162,16 yád áśvāya vāsa upastṛ́nánty adhīvāsám yā́ hiraṇyā́ny asmai), while the second stanza uses for the garment covering the horse the same word,

nirṇíj, which we have seen used of Varuṇa's garment in the Ṛg-veda, and particularly for his "fatty garment" of rainclouds (cf. # 7). The dark rainy season is a veritable image of chaos. The end of the rainy period in India coincides with the celebration of Durgā's victory over the buffalo demon Mahiṣa in the navarātrī/daśaharā festival, at which buffaloes and human beings traditionally used to be sacrificed to the goddess.

The water-buffalo is an "aquatic" animal (it has to bathe daily) and fits better than the horse does (pace Krick 1982: 304 n. 779) this description of the sacrificial animal: "'Trimmed up in the waters was the water-born', - the horse, indeed, has sprung from the womb of the waters: with its own (mother's) womb he thus supplies it" (ŚB 13,2,7,10; cf. also ib. 5,1,4,5; 6,1,1,11). In the opening chapter of the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upaniṣad (1,1,2), the ocean (both in the east and in the west) is emphatically said to be the womb of the sacrificial horse (tasya pūrve samudre yoniḥ... tasyāpare samudre yoniḥ... samudra evāsya bandhuḥ samudro yoniḥ). And the ocean is the realm of Varuṇa (cf. MS 4,7,8 samudró vaí váruṇaḥ; TS 6,6,3,4 samudré hỳ antár váruṇaḥ). The origin of the sacrificial horse from the ocean, waters and heaven and its identity with Varuṇa is underlined as early as in ṚS 1,163,1 and 4; for the horse as Varuṇa's sacrificial animal cf. also TS 2,3,12,1; ŚB 5,3,1,5; 6,2,1,5; TB 3,9,16,1 (cf. Eggeling 1900: V, xix f., xxiii). But in VS 24,28, the animal sacrificed to Varuṇa is the water-buffalo. An important piece of evidence for the hypothesis that the water buffalo (mahiṣa) was the original victim of the horse sacrifice is supplied by the title of the chief queen, mahiṣī, literally, 'water buffalo cow'.

In the Vedic vājapeya ritual the king and his wife put on the tārpya and darbhamaya (grass) cloths, whereafter they ascend a pillar with a ladder. ŚB 5,2,1,10 "Being about to ascend, he (the Sacrificer) addresses his wife, 'Come, wife, ascend we the sky!' - 'Ascend we!' says the wife... 12. He then touches the wheat (top-piece), with, 'We have gone to the light, O ye gods!'... 14. He then rises by (the measure of) his head over the post, with, 'We have become immortal!' whereby he wins the worlds of the gods." (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 32 f.). When the king has

reached the top, people throw salty earth (representing the ocean and the womb, a means of procreation: see Krick 1982: 129 ff.) and ashes packed in fig leaves at his face. In olden times this ritual may have involved the king's death (and his becoming Varuṇa, the king of kings), for ŚB 5,1,1,5 states: "Thus they who of old used to offer the Vājapeya, ascended to that upper region. From there Aupāvi Jānaśruteya descended again: thenceforward (all men) descend again."

The use of the tārpya garment for attaining heaven is one of the special features of the vājapeya suggesting that this royal ritual, too, may ultimately be of Harappan origin. The chariot race connected with the vājapeya ritual - in which the king is to win - could go back to bull-racing in the Harappan religion; it is evidenced at the late Harappan site of Daimabad in the Deccan by the enormous bronze cast of a bull-chariot and its ithyphallic driver (cf. B. & R. Allchin 1982: 281). In the Vedic vājapeya the bulls have, of course, been replaced with horses by the Aryans, who had their own traditions of chariot races. Bull-racing is still an important element of Indian folk religion in yearly cattle fairs, especially in the Deccan, but also in Sind. From South India there is archaeological evidence for yearly lustration and fertility rites for the cattle, involving enormous bonfires of accumulated cowdung. Cattle may have been driven over the ashes, as they still are in South India during the cattle day (Tamil māṭṭu-p-poṅkal) of the new year ritual. (Cf. Allchin 1963.)

Yama's dwelling is in the highest, third heaven, where there is eternal light (cf. ṚS 9,113,7-9; 10,14,8; 10,15,14; etc.). ṚS 10,135,1 speaks of a tree with beautiful leaves under which Yama drinks with the gods, while AS 5,4,3, without mentioning Yama, specifies the tree where the gods abide in the third heaven to be a pipal-fig (aśvatthó devasádanas tṛtī́yasyām itó diví). (Cf. Geldner 1951: 132 ff.; Macdonell 1897: 138 f., 171-174, 167 f.) This tree is undoubtedly to be identified with Varuṇa's light-issuing heavenly banyan-fig mentioned in ṚS 1,24,7. The idea of all heavenly bodies being fixed to the pole star with invisible ropes that prevent them from falling (cf. Kirfel 1920: 130)

seems to be based on Varuṇa's banyan tree in the centre of the heavens, with the planets and stars fixed to its aerial roots. These aerial roots may also have given rise to the idea of Varuṇa's noose, with which he "seizes" evil-doers and punishes them by binding them with fetters of sickness and death. I have suggested that these conceptions are of Harappan and Dravidian origin on the basis of the Indus script. The combination of the pictograms "fig-tree" + "fish" can be read in Dravidian as vaṭa-mīn: in ancient Tamil, this compound means 'north star', the name of the small star Alcor in Ursa Major near the pole star. (See Parpola 1975: 196 ff.)

Against this background, it is interesting to compare the symbols painted on the burial pottery of the Late Harappan cemetery H at Harappa. The symbols of fig leaves, fish, stars and trefoils of the same kind as in the "priest-king's" garment alternate with each other in the "sky" around the flying peacocks and the various hoofed animals (cf. fig. 18). All these would appear to symbolize stars, the abodes of the pious deceased. The horizontal human beings depicted inside the peacocks have been plausibly interpreted as the dead who are carried to heaven by these birds (cf. Vats 1940: 207).

I would like to suggest that this bird, the peacock covered with many "eyes" or "stars" (cf. DEDR no. 1159a), represents Varuṇa in his "sky garment" of the star-spangled night. In the Ṛgveda it is above all Varuṇa who is watching from the sky with his eyes (sun, moon and the stars) (cf. above, # 7). TĀ 6,3,1 speaks of the golden-winged bird which flies up to the zenith as the messenger of Varuṇa, as the bird which is active in Yama's abode or "womb" (nā́ke supárṇam úpa yát pátantaṃ hṛdā́ vénanto abhyácakṣata tvā / híraṇyapakṣaṃ váruṇasya dūtáṃ yamásya yónau śakunáṃ bhuraṇyúm). The Vedic funeral monument is built in the shape of a bird (cf. ŚB 13,8,3,9): it functions like the bird-shaped fire-altar with which Prajāpati flew up to the world of heaven (cf. ŚB 10,2,1,1).

12. The tārpya garment and the heavenly cow

The instrumental function of the tārpya garment in the astralization process is further illustrated by the three-day rite of Garga. Here it is fairly clear that the tārpya garment with its dhiṣṇya decorations also stands for the star-speckled heavenly vault and constitutes a means of attaining that heavenly world.

In the three-day rite of Garga, a thousand cows have to be given to the priests as sacrificial gifts. (Till the present day, people in India often give a cow to a brahman when they feel death approaching in order to secure a place in heaven for themselves.) The tārpya garment is to be thrown over the back of the 1000th cow (cf. ĀpŚS 22,16,2... tasyāḥ pṛṣṭhe tārpyam adhyasyati). PB 21,1,9-10 explains this as follows: "He who sacrifices with a thousand (cows) (as a sacrificial gift) is not deprived of space in yonder world. Now, yonder world (of heaven) is as far distant from this (earthly) world as is the distance from here of a thousand cows put above one another... That he reaches by each successive cow. These (cows), forsooth, are given in order to tread upon (yonder world). As he (i.e. the creator god Prajāpati, i.e. Varuṇa) created the thousand (cows), the tarpya garment was its place of origin (yoni, "womb"). That they lead them up (in order to give them as sacrificial gifts), after having put over them the tārpya garment, is for obtaining the same place of origin." (Cf. Caland 1931: 548 f.; and also JB 2,251).

The three-day rite of Garga (the prototype of all three-day rites which include the royal horse sacrifice) was originally performed by Prajāpati, the Lord of Procreation (ŚŚS 16,22,1). "What is threefold (trividham), that he reaches by means of the three-day rite" (ŚŚS 16,21,1; 16,22,30): "Three are these worlds, three these lights (trīṇi jyotīṃṣi: i.e. the fire, the wind and the sun, cf. AB 5,32,1), comprising three services is the sacrifice. So he reaches all that is threefold in regard to the deity (and) in regard to himself" (ŚŚS 16,21,2). According to PB 20,16,1, "By the first day, he (Prajāpati) formed what here on this (earth) is firmly rooted; by the second day, all living

beings that move (on the earth and through the intermediate regions); by the third day, rain that falls yonder, the stars and what belongs to yonder world (**tṛtīyena yad varṣati yan nakṣatrāṇi yad amuṃ lokaṃ bheje**)" (transl. Caland 1931: 544). Note that rain and stars are singled out as the characteristics of the sky: we have seen that the ancients in Mesopotamia and in India shared the concept of a divine "sky garment" consisting either of rain clouds or of the starry sky (# 6-7).

The texts emphasize the number three in connection with this rite. Thus even the 1000th cow, according to JB 2,243 and PB 20,15,14, is "three-formed or three-coloured" (**tri-rūpa**): according to LŚS 9,6,15, this means that it has three colours, white, black and red (**śuklam kṛṣṇaṃ rohitam ity asyā rūpāṇi**). In a myth told in JB 2,249-250 and PB 21,1, the 1000th cow was divided between themselves by Soma, Indra and Yama. Here it is said that Soma's cow is red and red-eyed, and that it is the **somakrayaṇī** cow with which Soma is bought (from its heavenly wardens, the Gandharvas, i.e. the dhiṣṇyas or fireplaces equated with the stars, see # 18).

Yama's cow is described as aged or dark and is equated with the **anustaraṇī** cow (this black and barren cow is slaughtered at the funeral, and its parts and hide are spread out over the corpse on the funeral pyre, cf. Caland 1896: 20 f., 54 f, immediately after the sacrificial implements have been piled upon it, cf. # 10 at end). This cow of Yama, connected with the end of life, has a counterpart in the barren cow offered to (Mitra and) Varuṇa at the end of the Soma sacrifice, immediately after the final avabhṛtha bath (cf. Caland & Henry 1907: II, 406 f.): again one trait shared by Yama and Varuṇa, supporting their common origin.

In MS 4,4,3: 52,12-15 the tārpya garment is associated with the barren cow sacrificed at this same point, after the avabhṛtha bath, at the end of the royal unction festival: "When Indra was born the tārpya garment was his womb, the paṇḍāra garment the amnion and the uṣṇīṣa turban his umbilical cord; he was born from the **sūtavaśā-** (a cow barren after having borne one calf)..." (transl. Heesterman 1957: 170). It is apparent that Indra (as the

king of gods) has here replaced Varuṇa (cf. Heesterman 1957: 168, 171). "The conception underlying the sacrifice of the sūtavaśā is clearly that in being immolated she gives birth to Indra, c.q. the king. What is meant, when the brahmana texts speak of the 'birth out of sacrifice', is put here in concrete terms" (Heesterman 1957: 171).

The third, "spotted" (śabalī) cow among those three into which the 1000th cow of the three-day rite is analysed, is said to stand for the wish-milking cow of plenty (kāmadughā) in yonder world of heaven (JB 2,251). While the red and black cow apparently correspond to the rising and setting sun, with which the 1st and 3rd day of the three-day rite are equated in PB 20,16,9, the cow with (star-like) spots is left over for the midday sun (which stands at the zenith, in heaven). It represents the 1000th cow, for according to LŚS 9,6,14, the 1000th cow is to be given on the middlemost day.

From West Asia we have evidence that the hair-whirls of animals were represented by images of stars. Even the hair of the human body was associated with stars in Elamite statues (# 6 and fig. 14: 2). Similar concepts can be traced in Vedic texts. According to ŚB 10,4,4,1-2, "When Prajāpati was creating living beings, Death, that evil, overpowered him. He practised austerities for a thousand years, striving to leave evil behind him. 2. Whilst he was practising austerities, lights went upwards from those hair-pits of his; and those lights are those stars: as many stars as there are, so many hair-pits there are (tásya tápas tepānásya / ebhyó lomagartébhya ūrdhvấni jyótĩm̃ṣy āyaṃs tád yấni tấni jyótĩm̃ṣy etấni tấni nákṣatrāṇi yấvanty etấni nákṣatrāṇi tấvanto lomagartấḥ); and as many hair-pits as there are, so many muhūrtas /i.e. moments/ there are in a (sacrificial performance) of a thousand years." (Transl. Eggeling 1897: IV, 361.)

The tārpya garment of the royal sacrificer, symbolizing the embryonic cover, corresponds to the garment worn during his period of consecration by the ordinary soma sacrificer; interestingly, this is identified with the cow's skin, and its openings are said to represent stars. We read in ŚB 3,1,2,13-18: "He then puts on a (linen) garment, for completeness' sake: it is

indeed his own skin he thereby puts on himself. Now that same skin which belongs to the cow was originally on man. 14. The gods spake, 'Verily, the cow supports everything here (on earth); come, let us put on the cow that skin which is now on man: therewith she will be able to endure rain and cold and heat. 15. Accordingly, having flayed man, they put that skin on the cow, and therewith she now endures rain and cold and heat. 16. For man was indeed flayed; and hence wherever a stalk of grass or some other object cuts him, the blood trickles out. They then put that skin, the garment, on him; and for this reason none but man wears a garment, it having been put on him as his skin... 17. Let him, then, not be naked in the presence of a cow. For the cow knows that she wears his skin, and runs away for fear lest he should take the skin from her. Hence also cows draw fondly near to one who is properly clad. 18. Now the woof of this cloth belongs to Agni, and the warp to Vāyu, the thrum to the Fathers, the fore-edge to the snakes, the threads to the All-gods, and the meshes to the asterisms (āroká nákṣatrāṇām; the word āroká means literally 'shining through'; the parallel passage of TS 6,1,1,3-4 has nákṣatrāṇām atīkāśáḥ, where atīkāśa means 'lustre, aperture'). For thus indeed all the deities are concerned therein; and hence it is the garment of the consecrated." (Transl. Eggeling 1885: II, 9 f.)

The tārpya garment thrown over the back of the 1000th (i.e. heavenly) cow would have made it look like the Mesopotamian cows carved with trefoils on their backs, assuming that the dhiṣṇya figures embroidered on the tārpya garment also included trefoils.

13. The trefoil pattern in Bactria: the forts of the Dāsas

Significantly, "tessellated alabaster mosaic was encountered at Dashly 3 (/our fig. 21/), individual details of which represented the humped bulls; surfaces were decorated with scratched drawings of the trefoil, exactly imitating analogous adornments on the clothes of the well-known statue of the 'priest' from Mohenjo-daro. Also found in Bactria were small steatite vessels in the form of a kidney (...), sometimes decorated with branches

bearing the leaves of the pipal, the famous tree of the Indian subcontinent". Sarianidi (1979: 654) has quoted these as "the most characteristic and significant similarities of individual categories of the articles of the Bactrian-Margian culture complex with corresponding articles from the valley of the Indus". This means that the trefoil pattern has been associated with cattle in the Indus civilization, although direct evidence is still lacking. But even more importantly, we now know that the trefoil pattern, evidently with all its symbolism, was along with many other things adopted from the Harappans by the post-Harappan bronze age culture of Bactria (North Afghanistan), which flourished around 1500 B.C. (cf. Sarianidi 1979: 644 f.).

This Bactrian culture can largely be traced back to the earlier Tepe Hissar III culture of northeastern Iran, which started spreading to Central Asia and to the Indus Valley at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. (cf. Sarianidi 1979: 656 ff.). I have suggested that the cultures related to Hissar III represent the earliest wave of Aryan speakers who settled in the Indian subcontinent, and more particularly the people who called themselves Dāsas. The Dāsas were encountered and partly subjugated in Northwest India by the later Ṛgvedic Aryans, in whose language their ethnic name (originally an Aryan word for 'man') came to mean 'slave'. The Dāsas were worshippers of gods they called Asura (which in the Vedic language came to mean 'demon'), above all Varuṇa. (See Parpola 1974; 1983.)

Characteristic of the Bactrian culture are its monumental building complexes. At Dashly-3, there is a square fort surrounded by walls of 150 m each. Inside are buildings and, amidst them, three circular, concentric walls (fig. 22). The "rotund building" in the centre (about 40 m in diameter) "must have served some cultic purposes, like a fire temple. This /is/ indicated by the altar-hearths mounted on the brick platform" (Sarianidi 1977: 161). Brentjes (1981) and Jettmar (1981) have convincingly compared this building complex with the var of the Avestan sources (Vīdēvdāt 2,21-43), a fortified elysium, constructed by the first man and first king, Yima (= Sanskrit Yama, the King of the dead, the first mortal). The correspondance is

very close. Jettmar has further drawn attention to the fact that King Yama (yama-rāja > imrå in modern Nuristani languages) is the supreme deity of the "pagan" (Kafiri) tribes of northeast Afghanistan. These Nuristanis have preserved the idea of a similar divine fortress; it is connected with the most important female deity of the Kafirs, Disani, who came into being from Imra's right breast. Disani is connected with fertility and death: she brings the dead into the house of Disani, and she is accompanied by the seven Paneu, divine killers who end human life with their arrows (cf. Jettmar 1975: 98). Interestingly, the name Disani is derived from that of the goddess Dhiṣáṇā (cf. Turner 1966: no. 6813), who is a secondary and obscure figure in the Veda, but intimately connected with the Vedic fireplaces (dhiṣṇya, cf. above # 9).

While fully accepting these identifications of the fort of Dashly-3, I would like to add yet another. With its three circular and concentric walls, this stronghold agrees closely with the Vedic descriptions of the forts of the Asuras and Dāsas (for a comprehensive study, see Rau 1976). TS 6,2,3,1-2; KS 29,1; MS 3,8,1; 3,10,5; ŚB 3,4,4,3-4 & 21-22; AB 1,23,1-2; GB 2,2,7 (Rau 1976: 21-23, 37-39) speak of three forts (tisraḥ puraḥ) of the Asuras, identified with the three worlds, and with copper, silver and gold respectively. In these passages it is made clear that only the enemies of the Ṛgvedic Aryans had such strongholds: "The gods, verily, and the Asuras were contending against each other. The Asuras had a stronghold, the gods had none... The gods were defeated persistently, for they had no stronghold..." (MS 3,10,5, transl. Rau 1976: 38 f.). In the end, the gods made counterforts and besieged those of the asuras.

A more realistic description of the threefold fort is given in ŚB 6,3,3,24-25; the text explains why the priest draws three lines around the fire: "the gods at that time were afraid, thinking: 'We hope the Rakṣas, the fiends, will not slay here this (Agni) of ours!' They drew that pur round it... Three times he draws a line... a threefold pur he thus makes for him; and hence that threefold pur is the highest form of puraḥ. Each following (circular) line he makes wider..." (transl. Rau 1976:

26). Exaggerating, many Ṛgvedic hymns speak of 99 puraḥ of Śambara, which Indra tore open; he is said to have killed the inmate as the 100th (ṚS 4,26,3). Here Rau (1976: 24) makes a pertinent point when he says: "Whenever we hear of o n e individual residing at one and the same time within m a n y puraḥ we must conclude that the latter were built concentrically".

Another monumental building at Dashly-3 is the square "palace" (fig. 23), where the "bull" and "trefoil" mosaic was discovered. Its ground plan, with T-shaped doorways in each of the cardinal directions, is clearly the prototype of the Tantric maṇḍala (cf. fig. 24; Brentjes 1981: 26; Jettmar 1981: 227). This suggests that Śākta tantrist rituals (cf. # 7, and # 14) may have been practised by the Bactrians. The same conclusion is indicated by several names of the great Goddess, such as Durgā, Aparājitā and Tripurā, which designate her as the lady of the stronghold or even of the threefold fortress (cf. Parpola in press).

14. The "three stars" of the Indus script

But let us return to the "heavenly cow" and its tārpya-garment. If the images of dhiṣṇyas are circles standing for hearths, then the three sacrificial fires (intimately associated with the funeral and astralization connected with the tārpya garment, cf. # 10) should have been represented by a cluster of three circles, corresponding to the trefoil made up of three circles and attested in connection with bulls in Mesopotamia and Bactria. However, the dhiṣṇyas represent not only fireplaces but also stars, while in Mesopotamia, where the trefoil is older, there is evidence for astral symbolism only. It seems significant that in the archaic Sumerian script, the word mul 'constellation' was written with a pictogram consisting of a group of three stars, at least from the archaic period of Ur onwards. The three stars are first in a row, but in classical Sumerian they were placed in a triangle (cf. Labat 1959: 96 f.). This seems an additional reason to believe that the trefoils on the backs of the Sumerian bulls represented stars. But why was "constellation"

represented with three stars or a trefoil? Did this symbol refer to some particular asterism, consisting of three stars?

In the Indus script, "three stars" would have been written either with three "fish" pictograms, or with "3" (expressed by means of three short strokes that can be proved to be numerals from the variation of the number of strokes in otherwise identical contexts) + "fish". Only the last mentioned combination is attested, in 17 different texts, some of which are moreover duplicated (cf. Koskenniemi & Parpola 1982: 88). In this case the pictorial meaning of both signs is exceptionally clear (for the "fish" sign cf. Parpola 1975: 192). Therefore, if one accepts the premises that the Indus script is a logo-syllabic script and that the underlying language is Dravidian, there are not many alternatives for reading this compound. The principal word for 'fish' in most Dravidian languages is **mīn**, which has an ancient homophone meaning 'star', both probably derivatives of the root **min** 'to glitter' (cf. DEDR nos. 4885 and 4876; cf. Parpola 1975: 193). The adjectival form for '3' used before the headword is in Dravidian **mu-** (cf. DEDR no. 5052). The reading **mu-m-mīn** 'three stars, an asterism consisting of three stars' is therefore almost unavoidable, and the Old Tamil literature proves that such a compound did actually exist in Dravidian, more particularly as the name of the Mṛgaśīrṣa asterism. This reading was first proposed by N. V. Gurov (1968: 34).

I long considered this one of the most secure interpretations of the Indus script. For some time now, however, I have not been quite happy about it. The reason is that this compound of "3 + fish" occurs on a three-sided terracotta amulet (fig. 25) discovered at Mohenjo-daro by George F. Dales (cf. Dales 1968: 39). This amulet seems to provide an exceptional opportunity to test the hypothesis, for two of the sides seem to give clear indication that the text on the third side relates to the water-god of the Harappans.

On one side of the prism there is the picture of a boat (fig. 25a), on another an alligator (fig. 25b). Both designs refer to water, which is the realm of the god Varuṇa (cf. above, # 7).

Moreover, Varuṇa is specifically the "lord of aquatic animals"

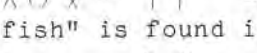
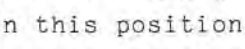
(yādasāṃ pati, Mahābhārata 13,85,32), such as various kinds of large fishes (jhaṣa, timi, timiṃgila 'swallowing even the timi'), tortoises (kūrma), crocodiles (grāha) and makaras (cf. Hopkins 1915: 118 f.). Makara, Varuṇa's mount in classical Hindu iconography, is "a kind of mythological sea-monster, often confounded with the crocodile although represented with a fish's tail and (often) an elephant's trunk" (Liebert 1976: 165 f.). In the Mahābhārata, "Varuṇa is formally consecrated by the gods as lord of rivers and waters (9,45,22; 46,105) and told that his home shall be in ocean, the home of makaras" (Hopkins 1915: 117).

The boat is explicitly connected with Varuṇa in Ṛgveda 7,88,3, where Vasiṣṭha says: "When both of us, (I) and Varuṇa, board the ship, when we steer into the middle of the ocean, when we shall fare over the back of the waters, then we shall swing in the swing, for swift flight and splendour" (ā́ yád ruhā́va váruṇaś ca nā́vaṃ prá yát samudrám īráyāva mádhyam / ádhi yád apā́ṃ snúbhiś cárāva prá prenkhá īṅkhayāvahai śubhé kám). (In 7,87,5 the poet speaks of the sun as the golden swing which king Varuṇa has ably constructed in the sky.) In the next verse (7,88,4), it is again said, "Varuṇa has put Vasiṣṭha in the boat" (vásiṣṭham ha váruṇo nāvy ā́dhāt).

The third side of this amulet has the following inscription:

(fig. 25c).

This text ends in the pictogram for "man", which can be read in Dravidian as āḷ/āṇ 'man, servant' (cf. DEDR no. 399), 'servant of a deity, devotee' (cf. TL s.v.). Such an interpretation results from an analysis of the types of Harappan inscriptions, which has suggested that the "man" sign follows names of divinities provided with a possessive marker: "X's servant/devotee/priest". (If the sign 𜿰 itself is not the possessive marker but — as seems also possible — denotes e.g. 'lord', comparable to Sanskrit svāmin or pati, then a zero genetive suffix, commonly used in Dravidian, is to be supplied.) Usually the immediately foregoing divine name consists of a "fish" sign accompanied or preceded by other signs that specify its meaning (cf. Parpola

1975: 186 f.). Comparison with the seal inscriptions 3141  and 7031  , where the combination "3 + fish" is found in this position, suggests that the intervening sequence ⊙ ⊙ is an epithet of the deity expressed through "3 + fish".

I would like to suggest that the sign ⊙ is a stylized "dot-in-a-circle", which marks the eye of the hare- and fish-shaped Harappan amulets (fig. 17), and that it is to be read in Dravidian as **kaṇ** 'eye', a basic word attested in all Dravidian languages (cf. DEDR 1159a) and related to the Proto-Dravidian root **kāṇ** 'to see' (DEDR 1443). The reduplication of the "eye" sign corresponds to the "figure-of-eight" sign found on the Harappan "priest-king's" cloak, and suggests a pair of eyes. The reduplication is meaningful in Dravidian; in Tamil we have the word **kaṇ-kāṇi** 'overseer'. This would be a fitting epithet of Varuṇa, who is probably meant in ṚS 10,129,7, which speaks of an "overseer (**ádhyakṣa**) of this (world) in the highest heaven". Varuṇa is the "thousand-eyed" guardian of the cosmic order, and looks down on the earth with the eye of the sun, never closing his eyes (cf. # 7); Varuṇa is the "watcher of men" (**nṛcakṣas**, cf. AS 4,16,7), seeing (**avapáśyan**) good and evil (**satyānṛtē**, ṚS 7,49,3).

In the light of this "eye" symbolism for the "dots-in-circles" and "figures-of-eight" on the "priest-king's" garment, its red trefoils also could well represent the three red eyes of the angry Bhairava or Yama, the fearful god of death dancing in cemeteries in the form of an enraged buffalo (figs. 15-16). The third eye of Śiva is destructive, emitting fire that burnt Kāma to ashes; it can therefore well be connected with the symbolism of the **dhiṣṇya** as 'fireplace'. Bhairava can stand for the destructive thunder-cloud emitting thunderbolts and rain (seed: Kāma's arrows roused his passion). The Mesopotamian "bull of heaven" from Uruk (fig. 11) shows a star on the forehead, and proves that it is possible to posit this "third eye" symbolism for a very early period. In the Harappan "priest-king" statue, the circular buckle kept on the forehead by the fillet (cf. fig. 1) could stand for the "third eye". The third eye of transcen-

dental vision is represented by the circle of hair (ūrṇā) between the eyebrows of the early sculptures of the Buddha (cf. e.g. Krishan 1966: 285, 287). Note further that the old man representing Varuṇa in the final bath of the horse sacrifice is "red-eyed" (piṅgākṣa, TB 3,9,3,15; ŚB 13,3,6,5).

Reference can further be made to the rosaries made of red nuts (of the Eleocarpus ganitrus tree) called **rudrākṣa** 'eye of Rudra'; according to the Rudrākṣajābālopaniṣad, the Rudrākṣas were shed by Kālāgni-Rudra (i.e. Śiva) as tears (cf. Dravidian **kaṇ-ṇīr** 'tears, lit. eye-water', DEDR no. 1159b) when he opened his third eye while destroying the three castles of the demons (i.e. the rainclouds) (cf. Kirfel 1959: 85 f.). (In the Veda, the god Rudra is connected with the colour red as well as with "crying" - many Brāhmaṇa texts derive his name from the Sanskrit root **rud-** 'to cry'. The present context suggests that these "crying" myths are of pre-Aryan origin and that they have influenced the phonetic shape of the god's name by associating it with the root **rud-**: **rudhira** 'red, bloody' as the name of the planet Mars - the star of (Rudra-)Skanda - suggests that the earliest shape of the name may have been *Rudhra 'the red one', an Indo-Aryan loan translation of an early Dravidian name of this deity, apparently surviving in Old Tamil Ceyyōn 'the red one'. Cf. Parpola 1975: 200 f.) The red Rudrākṣa beads compare with the Harappan beads with red trefoils (# 4). Given the astral symbolism of the trefoil, these Harappan beads could also have formed "star-necklaces": Arthaśāstra 2,11,12 mentions **nakṣatra-mālās** of twenty-seven beads among the precious articles received in the king's treasury. Significantly the rosary of Rudrākṣa-beads used in Śākta worship can comprise 28 beads (cf. Kālikāpurāṇa 57,46): the number of the asterisms is 27 or 28.

But let us return to inscription stamped in the three-sided amulet from Mohenjo-daro. Both the external and the internal context, then, strongly suggests that the signs "3 + fish" stand for an asterism of Varuṇa. In Old Tamil, **mu-m-mīn** is the name of the Mṛgaśīrṣa asterism. According to the Vedic myth, this asterism (λ , φ_1 , φ_2 Orionis), called "Deer's head", is the head of Prajāpati (i.e. Varuṇa, representing the night).

Prajāpati had sexually approached his own daughter (identified with the dawn), who had assumed the form of a red she-deer (the "red" asterism Rohiṇī = α , ϑ , γ , δ , ε Tauri). In punishment for his incest he was shot to death with a "three-jointed arrow" (said to be another constellation: Orion's belt?) by "the hunter" (name of another constellation, according to later sources Sirius, α Canis Maioris); the myth identifies the hunter with Prajāpati's own son Rudra (the rising sun), who was instantly born of Prajāpati's seed (cf. AB 3,33; ŚB 1,7,4,1; 2,1,2,8-9; Weber 1862: 368 ff.). This asterism is, therefore, connected with Varuṇa, whose later name is Prajāpati.

But in their catalogues of the divinities presiding over the calendrical asterisms, KS 39,13 and MS 2,13,20 assign the Mṛgaśīrṣa to the Maruts, while TS 4,4,10 and TB 1,5,1; 3,1,4, ascribe it to Soma (the moon) (cf. Kirfel 1920: 35). This does not fully satisfy our expectations, for we are looking for Varuṇa's star par excellence. Moreover, if we really could identify the "triple-star" depicted on the "priest-king's" robe, its original Dravidian name(s) might shed light on the double meaning of Sanskrit dhiṣṇya. Searching thus for a Dravidian pun combining the meanings "star" and "fireplace", which would confirm the interpretation of the pictograms "3 + fish" as mu-m-mīn, I found Mṛgaśīrṣa to be a dead end.

It is beyond doubt that mum-m-mīn is recorded among the names of the Mṛgaśīrṣa asterism in the earliest Tamil lexicographic texts, Piṅkala-nikaṇṭu (243) and Tivākaram, dated to ca. 800-850 A.D. (cf. Zvelebil 1975: 194 f., also for the dates of the other Tamil lexica). But, it occurred to me, the compound might have earlier denoted some other asterism also consisting of three stars. After all, it literally means just 'three stars'. Such a confusion is not unlikely, for even in times before these lexicographers the old names of the nakṣatras were becoming obsolete, being superseded by the Indo-Aryan names.

In the Vedic calendar, there are seven three-starred constellations, and the first of these is Mṛgaśiras (consisting of the stars λ , φ_1 , φ_2 Orionis); in the old list valid in Vedic times it was the third naksatra (later the 5th). The others

are: the 6th, Puṣya (ϑ , δ , γ Cancri; the Nakṣatrakalpa, differing from other sources, mentions one as the number of stars for Puṣya); the 15th, Anurādhā (δ , β , π Scorpionis; Nakṣatrakalpa: four stars); the 16th, Jyeṣṭhā (α , σ , τ Scorpionis; Nakṣatrakalpa: one star); the 20th, Abhijit (α , ε , ζ Lyrae: Nakṣatrakalpa: one star); the 21st, Śravaṇa (α , β , γ Aquilae); and the 28th,(Apa-)Bharaṇī (35, 39, 41 Arietis). Some of the sources list three stars even for the 27th nakṣatra, Aśvayujau, but its name, which is in the dual, as well as its divinity, Aśvins, the twin gods, prove that at least in the early Vedic tradition this constellation definitely had two stars only (β , γ Arietis). All sources agree on three stars only in the case of the 3rd, 21st and the 28th nakṣatras. Looking now at the deities, the 16th is sacred either to Indra or (according to one source, Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā 2,13,20) to Varuṇa, while all sources agree that the last nakṣatra is sacred to Yama. (Cf. Kirfel 1920: 35 f.; 138 f.; 280-282.) We have seen that Yama is an early duplicate of Varuṇa (cf. also Johansson 1917: 128 f.).

Post-Vedic sources connect the asterisms with various symbols. The symbols for the last nakṣatra, Yama's (Apa-)Bharaṇī, converge with our inferences about the "trefoil" motif too strikingly to be merely coincidental. In the first place, the three stars of this asterism are pictured as forming the pubic triangle: the Śvetāmbara Jainas consider the Bharaṇī asterism to have the form of vulva (**bhaga**) (cf. Kirfel 1920: 281), and this agrees closely with its brahmanical identification with 'womb' (**yoni**) in the late Vedic texts (cf. Kirfel 1920: 139). The Digambara Jainas, however, explain the Bharaṇī asterism as having the form of a 'fireplace consisting of three stones'. The words used are **cullī-pāṣāṇa** and **dṛṣaccullī** (cf. Kirfel 1920: 281), where **pāṣāṇa** and **dṛṣad** both mean '(large) stone' (the latter word **dṛṣad** we have already met in the muttered Vedic formula, where the stone was addressed as the goddess Dhiṣaṇā). The Digambara tradition of South India is in agreement with the Tamil tradition, for one of the Tamil names of the Bharaṇī nakṣatra in Piṅkala's Nikaṇṭu (dictionary) dated to about 900 A.D. is **mu-k-kūṭṭu**: another meaning of this word is "oven, as formed of three stones or lumps

of earth placed triangularly / (mūṉṟu kaṭṭikaḷai-k kūṭṭi y-amaittatu) aṭuppu" (TL s.v.). Another, slightly later lexicon, Cūṭāmaṇi, mentions for the name of the Bharaṇi nakṣatra the synonym aṭuppu 'oven, fireplace for cooking' (TL s.v.).

The word cullī mentioned in the Digambara sources is the most common word for the traditional Indian fireplace, which consists of three stones serving as the stand on which the vessels can be placed above the fire. In the Indo-Aryan languages this etymon is attested as follows (cf. Turner 1966: no. 4879-4882):

Sanskrit	cullī- f. 'fireplace'
Pali	cullī- f.
Prakrit	cullĭ-, (Deśīn.) ullī- f.
Dumaki	čila f.
Kashmiri	ċŏl f.
Sindhi	culhi f., culho m.
Lahnda	cullh, pl. cullhĩ f., cullhā m.
Panjabi	culh m., cullhī f., cullhā m.
Kumaoni	culi, culo
Nepali	cullī, culā, cullā
Oriya	cullī, culā
Bihari	cūlh, cūlhī, cūlhā
Maithili	cūlh, cūlhī, cūlhā, (Bhojpuri dialect) cūlh^{i}
Hindi	cūlhī f., cūlhā m.
Gujarati	cūl, culī, culṛī f., cūlɔ m.
Marathi	ċūl f., ċulā, ċullā, ċulvā m.
Konkani	culāṇẽ n. 'small fireplace' (from *cullī-dhāna)

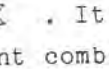
In Old Indo-Aryan the word cullī- is not attested until in the Laws of Manu (3,68), around 300 B.C., and it has no Indo-European etymology. It is generally held to be of Dravidian origin, following Burrow's proposal that it is related to Tamil cuḷḷai, cūḷai 'potter's kiln, furnace, funeral pile' and Malayalam cuḷḷa, cūḷa 'potter's furnace, brick-kiln' (cf. Mayrhofer 1956: I, 396; Turner 1966 no. 4879; DEDR no. 2709). While this is phonologically and semantically plausible, as Proto-Dravidian *ḷ and *l have merged in North and Central Dravidian, it would be strange if such a word belonging to the basic household vocabu-

lary would have survived only in these two southernmost languages on the Dravidian side. This problem is eliminated, while the phonetic and semantic aspect remains at least equally valid (for the frequent South Dravidian change of *c- to zero, cf. Zvelebil 1970: 106, and note Prakrit ullī- besides cullĭ-!), if we connect the Indo-Aryan words with the following Dravidian etymon (cf. DEDR 2857):

Tamil	ulai 'fireplace, forge, furnace'
Malayalam	ula 'furnace in forge, bellows'
Kota	elkāl 'fireplace between two stones'
	elkāl kal 'stones of fireplace'
Toda	waṣ 'fireplace' (in songs)
	waṣ kal 'fireplace of house and of certain dairies'
Kannada	ole 'fireplace'
Kodagu	ole 'hearth'
Tulu	ule 'furnace'
Naiki (Ch.)	sodgare 'fireplace'
Parji	colŋgel, congel 'fireplace' (kel 'stone')
Gabda	soygel 'fireplace' (kel 'stone')
Gondi	(A. Y.) sodel, (Tr.) saĭdāl, (Ch.) saydal, (W.Ph.) sadolĭ, (G.) hoydeli, (Mu.) hoydel, (Ma.) aydili, oyduli, (M.) odiyāl, (S.) hodel, (Ko.) ojal 'fireplace'
Konda	solu (obl. sonṛ-, pl. solku) 'fireplace'
Pengo	hol (pl. holku) 'fireplace'
Manda	huli 'fireplace'
Kui	soḍu 'fireplace, stones set up as a fireplace'
Kuwi	hollu, holu 'fireplace'

This linguistic evidence proves that the use of such fireplaces in North India goes back to Pre-Aryan i.e. Harappan times, and that the people who originally used them spoke Dravidian.

If Proto-Dravidian *cull-V 'fireplace, hearth' was one of the original Harappan names of the (Apa)Bharaṇī asterism, and if the trefoil pattern on the "priest-king's" garment represented this

very star, the compound *cull-V + mīn 'hearth star' may be expected to occur in the Harappan inscriptions. In later times, the asterisms had many names, and it is natural for such a synonym to be found in the Indus texts, if this was the constellation of the divine king and god of death. Moreover, one would expect the pictogram for 'hearth' to resemble the trefoil symbol, while 'star' would of course be expressed with the 'fish' sign. A combination matching these definitions is indeed found in the Indus texts:  . It occurs in ten different contexts, clearly forming a coherent combination (cf. Koskenniemi and Parpola 1982: 127b). The pictogram consists of three triangular parts joined together, while the trefoil has three circular lobes. This difference is understandable, if the trefoil also symbolizes three eyes and three stars (dots-in-circles), and if the Harappan hearths consisted of three stands built of triangular cakes of burnt clay (cf. # 9).

There is a general morphophonemic rule governing Dravidian bases according to which the "radical vowel is long when no derivative suffix follows and short when a derivative suffix (containing a vowel) follows. Type: Tamil kār 'be pungent, saltish, brackish' : Tamil kari 'to be saltish to taste, smart (as eyes from soap or chili)'" (Zvelebil 1970: 184). It is therefore possible that Proto-Dravidian *cull-V is a derivative of the root *cūl 'to scoop, dig out'. A weakness of this etymology is that it is known only from Tamil and Malayalam (DEDR 2734); semantically it is not difficult, since it may be assumed that 'fireplace, hearth' existed long before the use of the three stones was discovered, i.e. that in those times the hearth was prepared by digging out earth, as the Vedic dhiṣṇyas, also called khara (cf. Sen 1978: 62). Sanskrit khara is undoubtedly the same as khadā 'pit, hole', attested only in the compounds agni-khadā 'fire-pit' and aṅgāra-khadā 'coal-pit' occurring in Buddhist texts; these words may be derivatives of the root khā- 'to dig', cf. khanī- 'mine, cave', kha- 'aperture, hole, cave'.

Whether this internal Dravidian etymology for Proto-Dravidian *cull-V 'fireplace, hearth' can be accepted or not, its morphophonemic variant *cūl has in Proto-Dravidian been homophonous

with the root *cūl 'to become pregnant; pregnancy, pregnant (also: conception, child, offspring, egg, wateriness of clouds)', widely attested in Dravidian languages from Tamil to Kuwi (DEDR no. 2733).

Thus a homophony peculiar to Dravidian languages alone may be responsible for an idea fundamental to Vedic religious thinking: that the 'fireplace' is a 'womb', more specifically the womb of the sun, the prototypal fire-sacrificer, as well as of his earthly counterpart. Cf. e.g. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1,8 "Having thus collected it he offers it (the sun) in the evening. It passes that night in the condition of an embryo." Ibid. 1,9 "When the sun sets, it offers itself in the fire. ... When the sun rises, the fire arises after it. It offers itself in the sun." Ibid. 1,11 "Nagarin Jānaśruteya used to say: 'The sun here enters its lair (yoni 'womb'), the fire, when it sets." (Transl. Bodewitz 1976: 146.) Cf. further ŚB 6,5,2,8; 8,6,3,8 ff; 10,2,3,6; 10,4,2,29; 11,1,2,2; etc. The three sacred fires are said to be the "lairs/wombs" of Agni as early as in the Ṛgveda (hotar ní ṣadā yóniṣu triṣú, ṚS 2,36,4; cf. 1,15,4).

We remember that the sacrificer is borne up to the sky from the womb of his three fires (# 10). Significantly, the Medinī-koṣa lexicon even records the meaning 'funeral pyre' for the word cullī in Sanskrit. The Apabharaṇī nakṣatra is connected with the god of death and its three stars are identified with the 'womb' as well as the 'hearth of three stones'. Therefore, it seems more than likely that this is the asterism denoted by the trefoil on the "priest-king's" garment, and by the images of 'fire-places/stars' on the Vedic tārpya garment, which itself is replete with womb symbolism. All this would also explain, among other things, why, at the ritual performed to secure a safe delivery for a pregnant wife, the central act of parting the hair is to be done with a porcupine's quill "having three white spots" (triḥśvetayā śalalyā, ŚGS 1,22,14).

The sense 'wateriness of clouds' in the Dravidian word for 'pregnancy' quoted above demands comparison with Varuṇa as the rain-god clad in the "fatty" tārpya garment (cf. above, # 7-8). In the three-day rite of Garga, the tārpya garment is the womb of

the 1000 cows (cf. JB 2,251), and the 1000th cow is said to have entered the Lord of Procreation (Prajāpati) in the form of lightning, which, saying dadadadadada i.e. "I shall give, I shall give" (dadāni, dadāni), provides beings with rain and food (cf. JB 2,265). According to ŚŚS 16,22,25-26, "the 1000th cow should, they say, be one which immediately awaits her delivery; this is the form of procreation" (yādyaśvīnā sā syād ity āhuḥ; tat prajātyai rūpam).

"Varuṇa, assuredly, is the womb" states the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (ŚB 12,9,1,17). Darkness, which the JUB (3,2,4,2) associates with the womb (andham iva vai tamo yoniḥ), is in other Vedic texts connected with black colour, sin or evil (pāpman) and death (mṛtyu), all of which are associated with Varuṇa, too (see # 7). Moreover, the colour black is said to be "the symbol (or 'form, colour') of rain" (TS 2,1,8,5 kṛṣṇó bhavaty etád vaí vṛ́ṣṭyai rūpám; MS 3,13,19 kṛṣṇā́ varṣā́bhyaḥ) or "symbol of waters" (JUB 1,8,1,9 atha yat kṛṣṇam tad apāṃ rūpam). We have seen that Varuṇa is the god of waters and rain (# 7).

One explanation of Varuṇa's name derives it from the root vṛ- 'to cover', as a designation of the 'covered sky' (cf. Kirste cited in Mayrhofer 1976: III, 151). Whether this is the ultimate etymology may be left open, but probably this is how Varuṇa's name was interpreted in India on the basis of the traditions that this Aryan deity adopted from the Harappan/Dravidian god of water and death. When the Aryan thundergod Indra came to India, his followers loathed "people having the phallus as their deity" (śiśnádevāḥ, cf. ṚS 7,21,5). In the course of a fairly short time, however, Indra had adopted the features of the earlier Indian thundergod, and become himself a phallic divinity. Among the many stories of Indra's amorous adventures in the Brāhmaṇa texts (Rau 1966) is the seduction of Ahalyā (cf. JB 2,79; ŚB 3,3,4,18). As punishment for his improper conduct Indra was cursed by the husband and made to have a thousand female organs on his body (cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 17,137-148; Rau 1966: 86). As Indra is often called a bull, we can imagine him being covered with trefoils like the Sumerian "bulls of heaven": for the Harappans, the trefoil seems to have symbolized, among other things,

the womb or female organ.

Because the "womb" symbolism of the trefoil in India seems to be based on a Dravidian pun, it may not have been shared in West Asia. In fact, the Apabharaṇī asterism is very dim, and clearly chosen in India on account of its position in the ecliptic as the last star of the cycle (cf. below). The three-starred asterism represented by the trefoil in Sumer could therefore well be the much brighter "Jaw" of Taurus. This would directly associate it with the "Bull of heaven" (cf. # 5) and probably the bull sacrifices that in the Near East date at least from the 7th millennium B.C. (Çatal Hüyük). Hiltebeitel (1980) has recently compared the epics of Rāma and Gilgamesh, and the sacrifices of the water buffalo in India and that of the Bull of Heaven in Mesopotamia. I think these sacrifices are historically related.

"A report from Andhra mentions that the husband of the goddess Poleramma should be represented by three bricks or stones" (Beck 1981: 121, citing Ramanayya 1930: 9). This connects the three stones of the fireplace with the sacrificed Buffalo-god of the Dravidian folk religion. In classical Hinduism this buffalo god is the Mahiṣa Asura, the suitor of the Goddess vanquished by her. Buffalo is also the mount and symbol of Yama, the god of death, who in the Veda is the lord of the Apabharaṇī nakṣatra. More details on the three stones of the fireplace associated with the sacrifice to the goddess are given by Silva (1955: 579 ff.) reporting on "traces of human sacrifices in Kanara". "On the day after the Dusserah /which concludes the navarātri festival in memory of Durgā's victory over the buffalo demon/ all the beacon lights were lit and burned all night. This was the signal for the warriors to start from home for the military camps. They were away from home for the whole of the fair season. The chief feature of this great festival was the offering of nara bali (human sacrifice). One human being was always sacrificed on this day" (p.579). "Human beings were sacrificed on the stone by cutting through their necks and separating the head from the body. The bodies were kept together at one place, but the three heads were picked up and arranged in the form of a hearth, thus:

Food was cooked on this hearth. Later the heads were picked up again and reunited with the bodies to which they belonged, while an oblation (arthi) was made. This oblation and offering was of the food that had been cooked over the three heads. It seems that on one occasion the men were unable to rejoin two of the heads to their respective bodies as the heads had been interchanged" (p. 580).

To a large extent, these Śākta tantric traditions, which were fully alive until 1799 (cf. Silva 1955: 579), can be traced back to the pre-Vedic traditions of the vrātyas (cf. Heesterman 1962; and Parpola 1983, where the interchange of heads is also discussed). Since ancient times, the sacrificed victims, as well as heroes who had fallen in battles, were believed to go up to heaven (cf. Kane 1955: V.1, 168; Mahābhārata 3,43 quoted above in # 9; 5,1031). It seems significant to me that both the pious sacrificers (# 10) and the fallen heroes become stars in the sky after they have passed through the womb of the fireplace.

15. The Apabharaṇī nakṣatra of Yama and the avabhṛtha bath of Varuṇa

The Apabharaṇī nakṣatra ruled by Yama, then, indeed seems to have been the asterism par excellence of king Varuṇa (Yama) and the asterism primarily represented by the trefoils of the Harappan "priest-king's" as well as the **dhiṣṇyas** of the tārpya garment. This hypothesis must be further checked by a study of the principal ideas associated with the Apabharaṇī nakṣatra. In this way it may also be possible to penetrate further into the Harappan religion.

The name **apabharaṇīḥ** (later shortened to **bharaṇī**) means 'those which carry away'. In the verses accompanying the sacrifices to the asterisms TB 3,1,2,11 records the following for the Apabharaṇī: "let the Bharaṇīs carry away (apa) (our) evil, let the venerable king Yama perceive that; for he is the great king of a

great world, let him make the path easy to go and fearless for us" (apa pāpmānaṃ bharaṇīr bharantu / tad yamo rājā bhagavān vicaṣṭām / lokasya rājā mahato mahān hi / sugaṃ naḥ pantham abhayaṃ kṛṇotu) (cf. Weber 1862: 376).

The star name **apabharaṇīḥ** is synonymous and even etymologically close to **avabhṛtha**, the name of the expiatory bath of the Vedic sacrifice. The comparison is all the more legitimate, because Apabharaṇī is the very last asterism of the oldest attested nakṣatra cycle: the Apabharaṇī asterism marks the close of the year. Similarly the avabhṛtha bath is taken at the end of the sacrifice: according to ŚB 6,2,2,38, "the purificatory bath is the completion (**saṃsthā**)". "The final bath by means of which the participants purify themselves and dispose of the leavings of the sacrifice - the pressed out Soma plants, the black antelope skin, the dīkṣita garments - marks not only the end of the Soma day, but also the end of the whole foregoing year: 'whatever sin he has committed in the year before, verily that he thereby propitiates' (cf. TS. 6,6,3,1. It is to be remembered that the Soma sacrifice is to take place annually in spring, marking the turn of the year...)" (Heesterman 1957: 169 with n. 11).

In discussing the meaning of the avabhṛtha bath ŚB 4,4,5 uses words closely parallelling those which TB 3,1,2,11 (see above) connects with the Apabharaṇī nakṣatra: "10. Where there is a standing pool of flowing water, there let him (the sacrificer) descend into the water - for whatsoever parts of flowing water flow not, these are holden by Varuṇa; and the expiatory bath belongs to Varuṇa - to free himself from Varuṇa. But if he does not find such, he may descend into any water. 11. While he makes him descend into water, he bids him say, 'Homage be to Varuṇa: downtrodden is Varuṇa's snare!' thus he delivers him from every fetter of Varuṇa (**varuṇa-pāśa**), from everything pertaining to Varuṇa... 23. Thereupon both (the sacrificer and his wife) having descended, bathe, and wash each other's back. Having wrapped themselves in fresh garments they step out: even as a snake is delivered (**nirmucyeta**) from its skin, so is he delivered (**nirmucyate**) from all evil (**pāpman**). There is not in him even as much sin (**enas**) as there is in a toothless child." (Eggeling

1885: II, 381, 385; Rodhe 1946: 156.)

These references amply prove a most intimate connection between the avabhṛtha bath and Varuṇa. That Varuṇa was identical with Yama in connection with the avabhṛtha bath is suggested further by the references here to Death, to the "fetter" of disease and death, which is an attribute of Varuṇa as well as Yama (cf. Rodhe 1946: 37 ff.), and to pāpman 'evil', from which one is to be delivered. Pāpman refers to all kinds of evils (cf. Rodhe 1946: 30 ff.), but especially to death; the word is used as a synonym as well as an attribute of Mṛtyu 'Death' (pāpman mṛtyu in ŚB 8,4,2,1-2; BĀU 1,3,10; 1,5,23; etc., cf. Rodhe 1946: 35, 85 f.). Another connection between the avabhṛtha and Yama is seen in the archaic sacrificial sessions performed along the banks of the Sarasvatī river: the final bath should never be taken in the Sarasvatī, but in the Yamunā (cf. Thite 1975: 171 f.). The Yamunā is the dark river identified with Yama's twin sister Yamī: whosoever bathes in it is liberated from Yama's power (cf. Stietencron 1972: 72 f.). The Vedic avabhṛtha in a sacred river has the same basic symbolism as the modern Hindu bath in the Ganges: purification and liberation (cf. Amado 1971).

According to GB 1,4,7-8, the gods created the avabhṛtha bath from Varuṇa, and by performing the avabhrtha one obtains the association with Varuṇa and the worlds of Varuṇa. The avabhṛtha, in other words, is instrumental for getting into Varuṇa's realm, which we have learnt to know as the waters, earthly as well as heavenly: in the form of the night sky, the heavenly ocean is the abode of the pious dead. "The avabhṛtha has at the same time the meaning of death and new birth" (Heesterman 1957: 169). The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa compared the deliverance of all evil (all mundane sorrows) to the deliverance of the snake of its old skin. In ŚB 2,3,1,6, the same comparison is used of the sun-embryo: "Even as a snake frees itself from its skin, so does it (the sun-child) free itself from the night, from evil"; for "when he (the sun) sets, then he, as an embryo, enters that womb, the fire; and along with him thus becoming an embryo, all these creatures become embryos; for, being coaxed, they lie down contented. The reason, then, why the night envelops that (sun), is that embryos

also are, as it were, enveloped." (ibid. 3; Eggeling 1882: I, 327 f.) We have seen that the Brāhmaṇa texts identify Varuṇa with the night, darkness, black colour, and the womb (# 7, #14).

While discussing the avabhṛtha bath of the sautrāmaṇī sacrifice, ŚB 12,9,2,7 connects the shedding of evil with the shedding of the garment of consecration: "With (the formula VS 20,20) 'As one set free (is liberated) from the stake, as he who sweateth (is cleansed) from filth by bathing, as the ghee is purified by the strainer, so may the waters cleanse me from sin!' he causes his garment to float away: even as one would pluck out a reed from its sheath, so he plucks him from out all evil. He bathes, and (thereby) drives the darkness (of sin) from himself." Here the discarded cloth is equated with sin and darkness, while the very next paragraph (ibid. 8) aligns the clean sacrificer in his fresh garment with the sun rising to the sky: "(He comes out of the bath, having put on fresh garments, with the formula VS 20,21) 'From out of the gloom have we risen', - gloom is evil: it is gloom, evil, he thus keeps away; - 'beholding the higher light (svar)' - this (terrestrial) world is higher than the water: it is on this world he thus establishes himself; - 'God Sūrya (the sun), with the gods, the highest light', - Sūrya, the highest light (jyotis), is the heavenly world: it is in the heavenly world he thus finally establishes himself." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 267.)

There cannot be any doubt that the dark garment which is discarded in the waters of the avabhṛtha bath represents the black cloak of the night. The black mantle (**ásitaṃ vásma**) of night is compared to a hide (of the black antelope worn by the sacrificer?) sinking in waters (of the final bath?) in the 4th verse of the Ṛgvedic hymn 4,13, which is addressed to Agni and describes the dawn and sunrise (explicitly mentioned in verses 1 and 2): "With (thy) best drawing horses thou comest, shifting the thread (and) divesting thyself of the black dress (of the night), o god; the rays of the sun have shattered the darkness and sunk it into the waters like a hide" (**váhiṣṭhebhir viháran yāsi tántum avavyáyann ásitaṃ deva vásma / dávidhvato raśmáyaḥ sū́ryasya cármevā́vādhus támo apsv àntáḥ**). I follow Geldner (1951: I, 433)

in translating viháran "shifting": he compares it to vivartayantyau in Mahābhārata 1,3,147 (= 151 in crit.ed.): "Two young women are weaving this colorful loom, forever turning back and forth their threads, turning them from black ones to white ones, which are for always the past creatures and the present" (transl. Buitenen 1973: 52).

The black garment that the sun is divesting himself of in this verse is the star-decorated mantle of the night-sun, i.e. of king Varuṇa (cf. # 7): in ṚS 1,115,4 it is said that "as soon as he (the sun-god Sūrya) has yoked the tawny mares from their place (in the evening), the night spreads her garment for him (enveloping the sun in darkness)" (**yadéd áyukta harítaḥ sadhásthād ád rā́trī vā́sas tanute simásmai**), and immediately thereafter, in verse 5: "this colour (or form) of Mitra (i.e. the day-sun, cf. AB 4,10,9), of Varuṇa (i.e. the night-sun) Sūrya makes visible in the lap of the sky: endlessly white is his other sheen; the other one, black (i.e. the night), do the tawny mares put together" (**tán mitrásya váruṇasyābhicákṣe sū́ryo rūpáṃ kṛṇute dyór upásthe / anantám anyád rúśad asya pā́jaḥ kṛṣṇám anyád dharítaḥ sám bharanti**). (Cf. Geldner 1951: I, 152).

The KŚS 15,7,29 significantly prescribes the 'three-layered' (**traidhātavī**) rite as the last rite of breaking up (udayanīyā iṣṭi) for the unction festival in the royal consecration. This final rite follows immediately after the avabhṛtha bath and the sacrifice of the barren cow (cf. # 12). If the sacrificer has not already divested himself of the unction garments consisting of the tārpya etc., then he descends into the avabhṛtha with one of the unction garments and comes up after putting on another; the garment of consecration he throws into the bathing waters, but gives the unction garments away to the priests as a sacrificial fee, either when the omentum of the barren cow is offered or at the breaking-up rite (KŚS 15,7,25-28). All sacrificial fees beyond the thousand cows, including the garments to the adhvaryu, have to be given in triplicate (ib. 33) - hence the name of this rite (Karka's commentary: **tridhādakṣiṇā bhavati traidhātavī**). ŚB 5,5,5,18 explains: "Three garments (he gives) to the adhvaryu; - for the Adhvaryu 'spreads' the sacrifice, and the garments spread

themselves (over the body; or, people spread the clothes, either in weaving them, or in putting them on) (**tanute vā́ adhvaryúr yajñam tanvate vā́sāṁsi**): therefore (he gives) three garments to the Adhvaryu." This links the tārpya garment with the three sacred fires, for, as noted by Eggeling (1894: III, 142) in a note to his translation quoted above, "'to spread the sacrifice' is the regular term for the ceremonial practice of spreading the sacrificial fire from the Gārhapatya (or household fire) over the other two hearths, and thus for the performance of the sacrifice generally".

ŚB 5,5,5,1-6 gives an explanation for the name traidhātavī: "...Of old, everything here was within Vṛtra (i.e. the demoniac enemy of Indra), to wit, the Ṛk, the Yajus, and the Sāman. Indra wished to hurl the thunderbolt at him... Vṛtra was afraid of the raised thunderbolt" and one by one gave up to Indra the three Vedas. "Therefore they spread the sacrifice even to this day in the same way with those (three) Vedas, first with the Yajus-formulae, then with the Ṛk-verses, and then with the Sāman-hymns; for thus he (Vṛtra) at that time gave them up to him. And that which had been his (Vṛtra's) seat (**yoni** "womb"), his retreat, that he shattered, grasping it and tearing it out: it became this offering. And because the science (the Veda) that lay in that retreat was, as it were, a threefold (**tridhātu**) one, therefore this is called the Traidhātavī (iṣṭi)." (Transl. Eggeling 1894: III, 138 f.) Interestingly, this myth explains that the three-fold Veda originally belonged to the enemy of Indra, the champion of the Ṛgvedic Aryans. It seems to reflect a historical process, for when the Vedic Aryans entered India, their sacred literature seems to have been confined to the hymns later collected into the Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā; Sāmaveda and Yajurveda came into being later, under the influence exerted by the religion of the earlier inhabitants of North India, the Dāsas (cf. Gonda 1975: 20 ff.; Parpola 1983: 45 ff.).

Triplicate gifts at this "three-layered" rite are prescribed as early as in KS 12,4: 166,4 ff., which also associates it with the womb and the tārpya garment: "When the sacrifice was born, its caul spread out; that became the tārpya garment; the sacri-

fice has three components; when the sacrificer puts the tārpya garment around himself, he envelops himself with his own womb" (yajño yad asṛjyata tasyolbam anvaveṣṭata; tat tārpyam abhavad; yajñas traidhātavyā; yat tārpyaṃ yajamānaḥ paridhatte svenaiva yoninātmānam orṇute).

The number three is conspicuously connected with this rite. In addition to the three Vedas it is also associated with the three worlds (cf. TS 2,4,11,5), and (in its sāmidhenī verse) with the three "strengths" and the three abodes of Agni (i.e. the three sacred fires) (TS 2,4,11,2: **ágne trī́ te vā́jinā trī́ ṣadhásthéti**). Ultimately the number three in this connection may be based on the three stars of the Apabharaṇī asterism, which represents the end of the cycle and, as the womb, the gate to a new cycle. According to Baudhāyana (12,16), the "three-layered" rite is performed at the end of the whole royal consecration, and likewise at the end of the horse sacrifice (15,38) and other sava rites (18,5-6); ĀpŚS 20,8,4 and 20,23,5 prescribes it both at the beginning and at the end of the horse sacrifice.

Heesterman (1957: 171) further points out that originally this was so in the White Yajurveda, too, as the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa deals with it at the end of the rājasūya portion; he adds: "It is interesting that the ŚB. states that it is the proper ceremony for breaking up after a sacrificial session of a year's or longer duration (ŚB. 5,5,5,13)". According to Heesterman (1957: 171), "the three-layered iṣṭi... seems to be specially intended to secure continuity at this critical moment". "From this womb the sacrifice, exhausted after the year-long offering, is reproduced, made fit again. The sacrificer also, exhausted by his gift of a thousand cows, is restored through it (cf. ŚB. 5,5,5,6.10.12). Or in the words of TS. 2,4,11,4: 'Prajāpati created cattle, he created them with the three-layered iṣṭi; he who knowing thus sacrifices, desirous of cattle, with the three-layered iṣṭi, creates cattle from the very womb, whence Prajāpati created them.'" (Heesterman 1957: 172).

16. The ideology of rebirth and the nakṣatra calendar

The avabhṛtha bath finishes the period of consecration, during which the sacrificer has been in the state of an embryo, and the cloth of consecration represents the embryonal covers that are discarded when the newborn baby is washed. The following are extracts from AB 1,3, where this embryonal symbolism is elaborately explained (cf. also Thite 1975: 251 f. with further references): "Him whom they consecrate the priests make into an embryo again. With waters they sprinkle; the waters are seed; verily having made him possessed of seed they consecrate him... With the garment they cover him; the garment is the caul of the consecrated; verily thus they cover him with a caul. Above that is the black antelope skin; the placenta is above the caul; verily thus they cover him with the placenta... Having loosened the black antelope skin, he descends to the final bath; therefore embryos are born freed from the placenta; with the garment he descends; therefore a child is born with a caul." (Transl. Keith 1920: 108 f.)

As Hertha Krick (1982: 97 f.) observes, the embryonal symbolism in the Vedic ritual never ends in an "absolute" rebirth: every final bath, in which the embryonal covers are removed and thereby the "light" or "heaven" (svar) won, is at the same time the beginning of a new, higher consecration, which again brings the performer into a new embryonal status. This corresponds fully to the ideology of the agnihotra ritual, in which the sun and the fire mutually impregnate each other and are born from each other as the womb. The sacrificial formula immediately following that of the Apabharaṇī nakṣatra in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa (3,1,3,1) speaks of the repeated rebirth of the moon (**návo navo bhavati jā́yamānaḥ**).

The rebirth of the moon is involved also in one of the cosmic riddles (**brahmodya**) that the priests ask and answer during the simulated copulation of the slain victim and the chief queen in the horse sacrifice: ŚB 13,2,6,9. "The Hotṛ and the Brahman engage in a Brahmodya... With the (central) sacrificial stake between them, they discourse together; for the stake is the

Sacrificer... 11. 'Who is it that is born again?' - it is the moon, doubtless that is born again (and again): vitality they thus bestow on him... 13. 'And what is the great vessel?' - the great vessel, doubtless, is this (terrestrial) world: on this earth he thus establishes himself. 14. 'What was the first conception?' - the first conception, doubtless, was the sky, rain: the sky, rain, he thus secures for himself." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 314 f.) Note that 'vessel' here has a double meaning, as usual in Sanskrit, for it also denotes 'womb' (cf. also # 8 above on the fire-pot). But rebirth is possible only if one at the same time dies. In the horse sacrifice, fertilization is dramatically united with death: the victim who is killed impregnates in a sacred marriage rite the chief queen of the sacrificing king. On the cosmic level, these great mysteries are represented by the new moon phase, when the sun and the moon are united and "dead". In the ritual of the fire altar, the brick of the new moon is laid next to the Apabharaṇīs on the west (cf. Krick 1982: 10).

The period of studentship (**brahmacarya**) is marked by sexual continence and other vows, and like the period of sacrificial consecration represents the embryonal gestation, which ends in a final bath marking the (re)birth. In the reconstructed Pre-Classical (Pre-Vedic) ritual the bath at the end of studentship, marking the "second birth" of a high-class man, was immediately followed by marriage and the establishment of the sacred fires (cf. Heesterman 1968; Krick 1982: 90 n. 227). MS 1,6,4: 93,6-9 notes: "Unborn, forsooth, is a man as long as he has not established the sacred fire: for he is born only when he establishes the sacred fire. Both of them (the sacrificer and his wife) should be dressed in two linen garments (an undergarment and an overcloth covering the head) when they establish the fire. These (garments) are to be given to the Adhvaryu priest. The linen garment is the form (i.e. the symbol) of the caul. They both remove the caul." (Cf. Krick 1982: 96.) The clothing of the establisher of the sacred fire combines two aspects: on the one hand, it is the new festive cover put on as the mark of the status of purity and prosperity after the old impure "skin" of

studentship has been shed off; on the other hand, it is the caul of the initiate, which is discarded as a deathly cover at the end of the establishment of the sacred fire. The change of clothes is thus closely connected with the change of status. (Cf. Krick 1982: 97 f.)

The establishment of the sacred fires is associated with the first asterism of the original nakṣatra calendar, the Pleiades, kṛttikāḥ, which mark the beginning of the new year and the yearly rebirth of the sun. The immediately preceding asterism of Apabharaṇī, the last of the cycle, represents, as we have seen, the "womb" from which this "king of the universe" is born. ŚB 2,1,2,1 ff. discusses the kindling of the sacred fires and the asterisms under which this should be performed. The first alternative is that of the Kṛttikāḥ, the Pleiades, whose divinity is Agni, the fire god. "For Agni doubtless is their mate, and it is with Agni that they have intercourse" (2,1,2,5). The sacrificial fire is used daily for libations to the rising and the setting sun, and the kindling of the fire in the morning is equated with the sunrise already in the Ṛgveda (4,3,11): "The sun became visible when Agni was born".

According to ŚB 2,1,2,3, the Kṛttikās "do not move away from the eastern quarter, whilst the other asterisms do move from the eastern quarter". As Jean Filliozat (1962) has pointed out, there is only one reasonable explanation for such an association of the Kṛttikās with the east. The attention of the ancient stargazers was primarily directed to the rising of the stars from the eastern horizon, and to their setting in the west. Due east is defined by the sun's rise above the eastern horizon at the vernal equinox, and the Pleiades marked the vernal equinox around 2240 B.C. The brahmans were supposed to establish the sacred fires in the spring (cf. ŚB 2,1,3,3-5), and the spring is called "the head" of the year (ŚB 10,4,5,2), "the door" of the year (ŚB 1,6,1,19) or "the mouth" of the seasons (PB 21,15,2). Such references also suggest that the year started at the vernal equinox, and as the oldest Vedic lists of the calendrical stars begin with the Kṛttikās, the above mentioned astronomical date fixes the time of compilation of the Vedic star calendar in the period of

the mature Harappan culture. And it is generally agreed that the compilation of a luni-solar calendar was, together with a writing system, one of the requirements of urban civilizations. (Cf. Parpola 1975: 195.)

17. The cult of liṅga and yoni and the Harappan "fire-altars"

The initial working hypothesis of this study was that the trefoil motif on the Harappan "priest-king's" garment has had an astral meaning. In the course of the investigation it has been possible to conclude that the Harappans imagined the stars to be heavenly fireplaces, that the trefoil probably denoted specifically one particular asterism, namely the Apabharaṇī, and moreover that the fireplace, the Apabharaṇī, as well as the Vedic tārpya garment corresponding to the "priest-king's" garment all symbolize the "womb" in the Veda. Evidence of the existence of "womb" symbolism for the trefoil motif in Harappan religion seems to be given by the round pedestal of red stone from Mohenjo-daro. This has been compared to the round stand of the later Hindu liṅgas, representing yoni, 'womb' or 'vulva' (see # 4). Covered with trefoils, the pedestal seems to provide external confirmation to the proposed meanings of the trefoil pattern, while these in turn support the comparison with the yoni stands.

However, before accepting this as a proof it is necessary first to consider whether any sexual interpretation of the conical and circular stones of the Indus civilization is at all plausible. It is well known that such an interpretation was long ago proposed by Sir John Marshall (1931: I, 59-61), and that many scholars until quite recently have subscribed to this view (cf. e.g. B. and F.R. Allchin 1982: 214, and our fig. 26). Yet George F. Dales concludes a detailed examination of the evidence with this conclusion:"Where then is the evidence to support published statements such as 'Phallic worship was an important element of Harappan religion' (Basham 1954: 24)? With the single exception of the unidentified photography of a realistic phallic object in Marshall's report (pl. XIII,3), there is no archaeological evi-

dence to support claims of special sexually-oriented aspects of Harappan religion" (Dales 1984: 115).

It is true that Marshall's and Mackay's hypotheses of liṅga and yoni worship by the Harappans has rested on rather slender grounds, and that for instance the interpretation of the so-called "ring-stones" as yonis seems untenable. However, I would like to mention some pieces of evidence for Harappan sexual cult that appear undeniable. Dales himself finds one of the conical stone objects mentioned by Marshall (1931: I, pl. XIV.4) "very convincingly phallic-shaped" and another (ib. pl. XIV.2) "possible". The difficulty in accepting them as proofs for phallism "is that, apart from a general mention that these objects belong to the Indus Civilization, no information is published concerning where they were found..." (Dales 1984: 110). After a study (in 1975) of the photographic archives of the Archaeological Survey of India, I can to some extent supply the missing data. One of these stones (pl. XIV.2) was found at Mohenjo-daro in 1925-26 (Sind Vol. 9, p. 41 neg. no. 3669). The more important one (pl. XIV.4) is of terracotta, was found in Mohenjo-daro in 1927-28 and has the excavation number C 598 (Sind Vol. 16, p. 57, neg. no. 7362); it is not mentioned in the published list of finds from the C section of the DK area (Marshall 1931: I, 255-259), but will undoubtedly be found in the original field-books that are being edited in Aachen by Michael Jansen and his associates.

The phallic identity of these objects is made likely by ithyphallic male statuettes. In addition to the two coming from Chanhujo-daro and (as Harappan imports) from Nippur, which have been published and considered as ithyphallic by Dales (1968), there are further several clear examples from Mohenjo-daro (fig. 27).

Even more important evidence of Harappan sexual rites is provided by a three-faced terracotta amulet from Mohenjo-daro (illustrated in Marshall 1931: III, pl. 116.14 and 118.10). I have seen the original object in the National Museum of India, New Delhi, and am certain that the motif on side "c" that Ernest Mackay (1931: II, 396) described as "a man apparently pushing a goat or similar animal along" actually depicts sexual intercourse

of a human couple: a woman bends forward in front of a standing ithyphallic man (fig. 28). The same position is depicted on a Dilmun seal from Failaka (Kjaerum 1983: 114 f. no. 269). Also other Dilmun seals and seals from Mesopotamia depict sexual intercourse, obviously cultic in nature. Moreover, some of these Near Eastern erotic scenes share the symbols of human footprint(s) and/or scorpion(s) or snake(s) which recur on Indus seals found in the Gulf and in native Harappan amulets. (Cf. Parpola, in press b.)

In addition, a scene engraved on a seal from Chanhujo-daro (Mackay 1943: pl. 51.13) appears to depict a gaur bull mating with a nude human priestess lying on the ground. This motif can be compared to the Vedic horse sacrifice with its simulated sexual intercourse between the horse-victim and the queen (cf. Mode 1959: 69-71) and to the copulation of Yama's buffalo with an old woman in the Vajrayānic iconography (cf. Parpola 1983: 56 and pl. 7A, 8). One is also reminded of the marriage of the goddess and the buffalo demon in the South Indian village religion.

These data suffice for a provisional acceptance of Mackay's hypothesis that the finely polished circular stand may have symbolized the female generative organ and functioned as a pedestal for an image of the male organ. It is legitimate, therefore, to proceed with the study of the stand its trefoil decorations on this basis. The form of the Harappan pedestal, it may be noted, is close to "the tortoise-like stone bottom of the pedestal on which the liṅga... is fixed" (Gonda 1970: 84): in the Śaiva cult, it represents "the ādhāraśakti, the power supporting the universe residing in the primeval tortoise" (ibid.).

In classical Hinduism, liṅga and yoni are cult objects, and an integral part of their worship consists of throwing leaves of the bilva tree upon them (cf. fig. 29). Bilva or "wood-apple" tree (Aegle marmelos) "is one of the most sacred of Indian trees, cultivated near temples and dedicated to Śiva, whose worship cannot be complete without its leaves" (U.C. Dutt, cited in Watt 1889: I, 123); the tree is also associated with the cult of the goddess. The leaves of bilva are tri-foliate and they represent the three eyes of Śiva. On the 14th phase of the waning moon in

the month of Māgha the greatest Śivarātri festival of the year is held, celebrating Śiva's first manifestation in phallic form. The bilva tree is worshipped on this day, and "the linga is bathed in milk, decorated and wrapped with bilva leaves". There are several versions of a legend according to which a hunter climbs into a bilva tree and accidentally drops its leaves down upon a liṅga placed under the tree: this is sufficient for Śiva to appear to him. (Cf. Gupta 1971: 21 ff.; Gonda 1970: 112). It stands to reason that the trefoils depicted on one of the Harappan liṅga-stands represent bilva-leaves actually thrown on such an object in the cult.

Significantly, the Sanskrit name of the tree, **bilva**, known since the Atharvaveda, where it is a sacred tree (20,136,15), is generally considered to be of Dravidian etymology: cf. Tamil **veḷḷil, veḷḷiyam, viḷā, viḷam, viḷari, viḷavu, viḷātti** "wood-apple, Feronia elephantum", with cognates in Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu and Parji (cf. DEDR no. 5509, where it is noted that "Feronia and Aegle are closely related genera of one species each"; cf. also Mayrhofer 1963: II, 433; Turner 1966: no. 9248).

As the bilva has undoubtedly been implied in the symbolism of the Harappan "trefoil" motif, which had astral significance, too, it is not out of place to note that the Dravidian names for bilva are closely homophonous with the Proto-Dravidian root **veḷ/i** 'to be(come) white or bright, shine, glitter' and its derivative **veḷḷi** 'star, Venus' (cf. DEDR 5496a). It does not seem impossible that this (accidental) similarity in the language of the Pre-Aryan substratum could explain why bilva is identified with "light" (**jyotis**) in Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 2,1: "Now as to (his using) Bilva (as wood for the sacrificial stake), they say, 'Bilva is light'; a light he becomes among his own people, he becomes the chief of his own people, who knows thus." The word **jyotis** "light" is associated with the stars (cf. TĀ 9,10,3 **jyotir iti nákṣatreṣu**), with the heavenly world (cf. MS 1,4,7 **jyótir hí svargó lokáḥ**; TS 1,2,2,2). ŚĀ 7,4 identifies the three cosmic "lights" (**yathāmūni trīṇi jyotīṃṣi**) with the three "lights" in man (**evam imāni puruṣe trīṇi jyotīṃṣi**): the sun in the sky = the eye in the head, the lightning in the atmosphere = the heart in the body,

the fire on the earth = the semen in the lap (or organs of generation) (upasthe retaḥ).

The last mentioned identification of light and semen is interesting in connection with that of light and bilva, and the fact that bilva leaves are thrown upon the liṅga and yoni. In Dravidian the word veḷḷi means not only 'star, planet Venus' but also 'semen' (both being 'white'). These meanings are shared also by the Sanskrit word śukra; and there is a myth of Śukra, the planet Venus as the priest of the demons (asuras), being emitted as seed from Śiva's liṅga (Mahābhārata 12,291; Kramrisch 1981: 133-145). If the bilva leaves symbolize drops of semen, one can well understand why they are thrown on the liṅga and yoni in the cult.

Ernest Mackay has observed that though no liṅga stones have been found fixed to such Harappan "yoni" stands, this absence of lingas can be explained by assuming that they were made of wood. Mackay, however, had qualms about this hypothesis, because in later Hinduism Śiva's liṅgas invariably are of stone. (See # 4.) Doris Srinivasan, in her turn, is prepared to drop the phallic identification of the Harappan cones: "To maintain that the Indus stones are the prototypes of the later Śiva-liṅgas one would need to explain not only their abstract shape vis-à-vis the realism of the early undisputed Śiva-liṅgas, but also the absence of liṅgas in the North for more than two millennia" (Srinivasan 1984: 86). It is true that the earliest preserved liṅgas date from about the second and first century B.C. - but so do most other stone structures. "We have no significant architectural remains between the Harappa period and that of the Mauryas. This was due to the fact that few if any buildings were made of stone during this time. Megasthenes mentions that the palace of Candragupta Maurya, though very large and luxurious, was built of carved and guilded wood, and the earliest stone buildings to have survived were evidently modelled on wooden originals" (Basham 1954: 348). Similar remarks can be made with regard to sculpture: "From the end of the Indus cities to the rise of the Mauryas over a millennium elapsed, with no surviving work of art to fill it. Somewhere in North India the art of sculpture, no doubt in perishable ma-

terials, was certainly kept alive" (ibid. 364).

As to Srinivasan's other argument, it may be pointed out that realistic and highly stylized liṅgas seem to have existed side by side already in the Indus civilization. The earliest sculptures of the historical period similarly comprize not only anatomically realistic liṅgas but also abstractly shaped columns - the famous pillars of Aśoka and his predecessors. In fact, these pillars with their capitals (bull, lion, elephant) are "the earliest important sculptures after those of the Indus cities" (Basham 1954: 364), and they are quite likely to have had a not only cosmic (axis mundi) but also phallic symbolism (cf. Irwin 1973 through 1983).

In his 7th pillar edict Aśoka speaks of **dhaṃmatthaṃbhāni** 'pillars of Law' and **silāthaṃbhāni** 'stone pillars' (Bloch 1950: 169, 172). **Thambha** is the Middle Indo-Aryan counterpart of Sanskrit **stambha** 'pillar' (cf. Turner 1966: no. 13682). The earliest reference for **stambha** is KS 30,9, which discusses the sacrificial victim and how he is to be made go to the heavenly world alive; the victim is bound with fetter equated with "Varuṇa's fetter" (**varuṇapāśa**) either to the **stambha** 'sacrificial post' or to a wooden stick (**dāru**). The Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda have the dialectal variant **skambha** instead of **stambha**. Thus in the long hymns AS 10,7-8, **skambha** is in mystical speculations praised as the body and soul of the universe, the highest principle (cf. Whitney 1905: II, 589-601, and Gonda 1975: 294, with further literature). AS 10,7,15, for example, asks: "Where both immortality (amṛta) and death are set together in man (puruṣa)... that Skambha tell (me): which forsooth is he?" (transl. Whitney 1905: II, 591). We have seen that the sacrificial stake is between the priests who engage in the riddling dialogue (dealing with such themes as the rebirth of the moon) at the moment of the simulated sexual intercourse between the queen and the victim of the Vedic horse or human sacrifice (cf. # 16).

The three first stanzas of AS 10,7 asks in what member (**aṅga**) of Skambha are the various forces of the universe situated. This reminds one strongly of the famous hymn ṚS 10,90, which explains the creation of the cosmic forces from the severed members of the

primeval man, the first sacrificial victim. The sacrificial pillar to which the victim was fettered when he was put to death, was thus an instrument of creation. The sacrificial post is often equated with the sacrificer (KS 6,6; MS 1,8,7 **yájamāno yūpaḥ**; KS 29,8; AB 2,3; ŚB 13,2,6,9 **yájamāno vaí yūpaḥ**; TB 1,3,7,3 **eṣá vaí yájamāno yád yūpaḥ**; ŚB 3,7,1,11 **yájamāno vā́ eṣá nidā́nena yád yūpaḥ**), and this is expressed also ritually, for the post takes its measure from the sacrificer (TS 6,3,4,5 **yájamānena yūpaḥ sā́mmitaḥ**). Likewise the sacrificed victim impersonates the sacrificer (cf. Biardeau 1976: 19); thus ŚB 11,7,1,3 states: "Now, when he performs the animal offering he thereby redeems himself - male by male, for the victim is a male, and the Sacrificer is a male."

The stanzas 40-41, which seem to have originally closed the Skambha-hymn AS 10,7, are of particular interest since they apparently refer to the pillar as the sacrificial post and as the phallus: "Smitten away is his darkness; he is separated from evil; in him are all the three lights that are in Prajapati. He who knows the golden reed (**vetasá**) standing in the sea - he verily is in secret Prajapati" (transl. ib. 594 f.). The expression **hiraṇyáyo vetasáḥ** 'golden reed' recurs in ṚS 4,58,5, where Geldner (1951: I, 489) understands it to means the phallus: "Das goldene Rohr (die Rute) is wieder der Soma als Befruchter der Gedanken..." In ṚS 10,95,4-5 the word **vaitasá** (literally 'made of or peculiar to the reed') is directly used of the phallus (cf. Kuiper in Irwin 1976: 741 n. 31 and 1980: 256).

Irwin (1980: 259 n. 18) has further pointed out that "the association between cosmic pillar and phallus is explicit in Mahābhārata X.17.8 ff. where Śiva pulls off his own penis and sets it up as a sacred pillar". Here Brahmā asks Śiva to create the creatures, but as Śiva - called here Sthāṇu 'pillar' (cf. also Kramrisch 1981: 117-122) - practised asceticism for long time immersed in waters, he Brahmā sent another creator to populate the world. Emerging from the waters Rudra sees the creatures and in anger cuts off his linga and fixes it on the ground (10,17,21-22 **cukrodha bhagavān rudro liṅgaṃ svaṃ cāpy avidhyata / tat praviddhaṃ tadā bhūmau tathaiva pratyatiṣṭhata**).

Though studies of the symbolism of Śiva's liṅga often recall that one of Śiva's names is Sthāṇu 'pillar' (cf. Kramrisch 1981: 153-196; O'Flaherty 1973: 378 motif 26a), a reference to the sacrificial post is hard to find in this connection. It is therefore important to note that the sacrificial stake is explicitly said to be a **sthāṇu** (ŚB 3,6,2,5 **yūpa sthāṇúḥ**).

The sacrificial stakes of the Vedic ritual were made of wood: AB 2,1 and MS 3,9,3 mention khadira, bilva and palāśa wood as alternatives. "Because the **yūpa** had to be carved from wood of the sacred tree, it is not surprising that none of the Vedic period now survive. However, in order to commemorate the sites at which major sacrifices were performed, **yūpas** were sometimes (at later periods only it seems) copied in stone and erected as memorials. A number of these stone memorial-**yūpas** do survive" (Irwin 1975: 173).

One such stone **yūpa** of the 1st or 2nd century A.D. from Īśāpur near Mathura is quadrate in its lower portion, and octagonal in its upper portion that originally was above the ground (cf. ibid. and Moeller 1974: 22, Abb.3). According to the Vedic texts (cf. below), the sacrificial post was to be made eight-cornered. As John Irwin (1975: 173) has pointed out, the octagonal **yūpa** is closely paralleled by the famous stone pillar of Heliodorus at Besnagar near Sanchi, dating from the 2nd century B.C. This sculpted pillar is faceted. "It starts as an octagon, breaking down to sixteenths, and then to thirty-seconds, before a short round section is reached at top" (ibid.). But this faceted form of the Vedic yūpa and the Heliodorus pillar is also found in the "man-made" liṅga-statues (**mānuṣa-liṅga**), too: the tripartite form (see fig. 30) has a quadrate foot-part, an octagonal middle part, and a round top: according to the Āgama-texts these parts belong to Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra respectively (cf. Moeller 1974: 67). Interestingly, the octagonal **yūpa** of the Vedic ritual is specifically connected with Viṣṇu (e.g. MS 3,9,2 **vaiṣṇavó hí yūpaḥ**).

MS 3,9,3 explains the octagonal form of the sacrificial post as follows: "it is to be made eight-cornered, as a symbol of the (eight-syllabled) gāyatrī metre, for the post is the gāyatrī metre" (**aṣṭāśriḥ kāryo gāyatryā́ rūpáṃ, gāyatró hí yūpaḥ**): the

gāyatrī-metre is in the Vedic texts a bird flying to heaven to fetch the nectar of immortality. Here the text goes on explaining that the post is to be made of palāśa-wood (also called **parṇa**, as here) because that came into being when the feather (**parṇa**) of the flying gāyatrī fell down. This identification of the sacrificial post with the bird flying to heaven is significant. The "golden-winged" (**suparṇa**) bird of the Veda (for which cf. also # 11 in the end) appears in the post-Vedic literature as Viṣṇu's bird Garuḍa. Now the Besnagar pillar is called in its Brāhmī inscription a "Garuḍa-flagpole" (**garuḍa-dhvaja**) and it was erected by a Vaiṣṇava in honour of Vāsudeva, god of gods: Heliodorus, the son of Dion, who had come from Taxila as ambassador of king Antialkidas to king Kāśīputra Bhāgabhadra, calls himself a Bhāgavata (cf. Irwin 1975: 166, 168).

The association of the sacrificial pillar with Viṣṇu is found in many texts (cf. also KS 26,3 **vaiṣṇavo vai yūpaḥ**; TS 6,3,4,4 **vaiṣṇavó vaí devátayā yūpaḥ**; ŚB 3,6,4,1 like MS 3,9,2 quoted above), although in other places the **yūpa** is said to belong to all the gods (cf. MS 3,9,4; KS 26,6; TS 6,3,4,7). It may be legitimately asked does not this association of the sacrificial pillar with Viṣṇu prove that it cannot be related to Śiva's liṅga. In my view it does not prove this. The ascription of the sacrificial pillar to Viṣṇu is undoubtedly connected with very frequent equation of the sacrifice with Viṣṇu (MS 4,1,12; ŚB 1,9,3,9; PB 13,3,2; GB 2,6,7 **yajñó víṣṇuḥ**; TS 2,3,11,2 etc. etc. **víṣṇur yajñáḥ**; MS 4,1,3 etc. etc. **yajñó vaí víṣṇuḥ**). Actually the sacrifice is quite often identified also with 'man' (ŚB 1,3,2,1; 3,1,4,23 **púruṣo yajñáḥ**; ŚB 10,2,1,2 **púruṣo vaí yajñáḥ**) or said to be of the same measure as man (MS 4,5,7; KS 19,1; 27,1), and Viṣṇu's rise to superiority is largely connected with his becoming identified with the primeval Man, the cosmic Puruṣa, the victim of the first sacrifice (cf. Gonda 1970: 25 ff.). In earlier times, the sacrificial victim of the human and horse sacrifice was identified with Varuṇa and Prajāpati, the lord of creation, and KB 16,8 indeed connects the sacrifice with both Viṣṇu and Varuṇa. MS 3,7,9 explains that "the sacrifice is Varuṇa when bought, Viṣṇu when extended" (**váruṇo vaí yajñáḥ krītó víṣṇuḥ**

prátataḥ): this makes it clear that the (bought) sacrificial victim was identified with Varuṇa, and the measured (constructed) sacrificial area with Viṣṇu, who with his three steps (mentioned in MS 3,7,9) measured the universe. The pillar as an extended object is related to Viṣṇu's measuring activity, but without doubt originally to the victim. Moreover, in TS 6,3,7,2 (cf. also above, # 15) it is said that (originally) the sacrifice was among the Asuras (ásureṣu vaí yajñá āsīt...), and Varuṇa is the principal Asura in the ṚS. Prajāpati, too, very is often identified with the sacrifice (cf. ŚB 1,1,1,13; 1,5,2,17; 3,2,2,4; AB 2,17; etc. prajā́patir yajñáḥ; KS 22,1; 23,2; MS 1,10,5; 3,7,9; 4,4,10; 4,6,6; TS 3,2,3,3; 11,6,3,9 yajñáḥ prajā́patiḥ; TB 3,3,7,3; KB 10,1; 13,1; 25,11; 26,3 yajña u vai prajāpatiḥ; MS 3,6,5; 4,7,8; TS 2,5,7,3; 5,1,8,3; 7,5,7,4 yajñó vaí prajā́patiḥ; cf. further TB 1,3,10,10; ŚB 4,3,4,3; Gonda 1960: I, 188 f.).

AB 2,1, has another explanation for the octagonal shape of the sacrificial stake: "The post is a thunderbolt; it should be made of eight corners; the bolt is eight-cornered". The sacrificial stake, which is instrumental in the slaughter of the victim, is in many Vedic texts identified with the thunderbolt (vajra), the mightiest weapon (KS 29,8; MS 3,9,3; ŚB 3,6,4,19; AB 2,1; 2,3; KB 10,1; ṢaḍB 4,4). The thunderbolt in its turn is spoken of as a phallus: cf. AS 11,5,12 "Roaring on, thundering, the ruddy white-goer has introduced (? anu-bhṛ) in the earth a great virile member; the Vedic student pours seed upon the surface (sā́nu), on the earth; by that live the four directions" (transl. Whitney 1905: II, 638). In the Buddhist Tantrism, whose symbolism focuses on human sacrifice and sexuality, the erect phallus is represented by the thunderbolt, vajra, after which this esoteric way is named: Vajrayāna (cf. Walker 1968: I, 595).

In the Buddhist Tantric iconography the buffalo-formed Bhairava (cf. fig. 15) or Yama (cf. Parpola 1983: pl. 8) is often depicted with an erect penis. (For Varuṇa/Yama as the thundercloud cf. above, # 7 and # 14.) In Śākta worship the buffalo is - after man - the principal sacrificial victim to the goddess; in some variants of the myth relating the killing of the buffalo demon by the goddess, this Mahiṣa Asura is also repre-

sented as her lover (cf. Stietencron 1983; Beck 1981: 96). Mahiṣa Asura seems to be the pre-Vedic counterpart of the chief victim in the Vedic horse or human sacrifice (cf. # 7, # 11). The horse is the animal of Varuṇa and Prajāpati, the god of death and creation: it is killed and made have sexual intercourse with the queen of the sacrificing king. In the human sacrifice the victim stands for the first victim, the primeval Puruṣa, from whose cut off limbs the differentiated universe came into being. We have already seen that the sacrificial victim is identified with the sacrificial stake in the Vedic texts.

In the goddess worship of Kaṉṉapuram, a South Indian village, the tree trunk (called in Tamil **kampam**) in front of which the sacrificial victims to the goddess are decapitated, is said to be the husband of the goddess. At the end of the yearly marriage rite, when the last victim is slaughtered, the trunk is uprooted, and the goddess is divested of her ornaments like a widow (Beck 1981: 88 ff., 119). At the end of the festival, "the place of the tree trunk is taken by a small stone called 'black god of the tree trunk' (Kampattu Karuppaṇaṉ). This deity is explicitly a guardian for the goddess" (ib. 95). Until 1955, a garlanded buffalo was sacrificed by severing the head at one ax blow "just as the final goat was beheaded before the **kampam**, and prior to its uprooting" (ib. 97 n. 19).

Beck (1981: 120) has pointed out that the word **kampam** (from Sanskrit **skambha** 'pillar') for the tree trunk in the Māriyammaṉ festival "is widely used to describe a variety of posts that are important in ritual contexts. Ascetics, for example, are generally said to perform penance on a **kampam**. Furthermore, in the standard South Indian Śiva temple, a **koṭi kampam** (flag pole) is implanted inside the outer compound wall, directly in line with Śiva's central shrine. The spot chosen for the Māriyammaṉ festival **kampam** is parallel in every respect. Just in front of Śiva's **kampam**, furthermore, is always a small **palipīṭam** (sacrificial altar). That spot corresponds to the exact place in the Māriyammaṉ temple complex where goats (and cocks) are sacrificed during this local festival. More interesting still, the spatial organization of a South Indian Śiva temple is understood, by

sophisticated devotees, to correspond to that of a human (male) body. In this mystical schema the god's innermost sanctum corresponds to a human head, while the flag pole and palipīṭam are likened to the body's genital area. Once again, then, an association between sexual urges, demoniac qualities and sacrifice can be seen to emerge" (Beck 1981: 120). We have seen that the Besnagar pillar was in its own inscription called a dhvaja 'flag-staff'. Some terracotta "amulets" from Mohenjo-daro show a procession of men carrying flag-staffs or standards (cf. Marshall 1931: III, pl. 116.5 and 8); one of these is mounted by an image of the "unicorn" bull, and resembles in this respect the Mauryan pillar with bull capital from Rāmpūrva.

The identification of the sacrificial post and the phallus is understandable, for they not only share the vertical form but also both symbolize the way or door to the beyond or heaven. The erect phallus generating a son appears as a gate to immortality in the Vedic legend of Śunaḥśepa: the name of this youth is 'Dog's tail/penis', and he is bound to the sacrificial stake as a human victim. In reply to the question, "What doth a man gain by a son?", the divine sage Nārada replies in AB 7,13: "A debt he payeth in him, And immortality he attaineth, That father who seeth the face Of a son born living... By means of a son have fathers ever Passed over the deep darkness; The self is born from the self The (son) is (a ship), well-found, to ferry over... a son /is for the father, i.e. secures for him the place of/ a light in the highest heaven. The father entereth the wife, Having become a germ (he entereth) the mother, In her becoming renewed, He is born in the tenth month. A wife hath her name of wife /jāyā, lit. 'generator'/, since in her he is born again. She is the power of reproduction, The seed is placed here. The gods and the seers Brought her together as great brilliance; the gods said to men 'This is your mother again'. 'A sonless one cannot attain heaven', All the beasts know this; Therefore a son his mother And his sister mounteth..." (transl. Keith 1920: 299 f., with some modifications).

The sacrificial stake is made of wood and symbolizes the primeval cosmic tree on the navel of the earth upholding the sky

and thus leading to heaven: according to AS 10,7,35 "the skambha sustains both heaven-and-earth here" (transl. Whitney 1905: II, 594). "It is through the sacrificial stake that the offerings go to the heavenly world", says MS 4,8,8 (yūpena vā āhutayaḥ svargāṃ lokāṃ yánti). In AB 2,1 we read of the post: "By means of the sacrifice the gods went upwards to the world of heaven; they were afraid, 'Seeing this of us men and seers will track us.'... Having fixed it point down, they went upwards. Then men and seers came to the place of sacrifice of the gods, 'Let us seek something to track the sacrifice.' They found the post only, established with point downwards. They perceived, 'By this the gods have blocked the sacrifice.' Having dug it out they fixed it upwards; then they did discern the world of heaven. In that the post is fixed upright, (it is) to track the sacrifice, to reveal the world of heaven." (Transl. Keith 1920: 134.) Cf. also KS 25,10; 26,6; MS 3,9,4; TS 6,3,4,7.

After a Vedic animal sacrifice the post was either left standing or thrown into the sacred fire. Thus in AB 2,3 it is said: "'Should the post stand? Or should he throw it (into the fire)?' they say. It should stand for one desiring cattle... He should throw (it) after for one who desires heaven; the ancients used to throw it after, (thinking) 'the post is the sacrificer, the strew the sacrificer; Agni is the birthplace of the gods; he, having come into existence from Agni as the birthplace of gods from oblation, with a body of gold will go aloft to the world of heaven.'" (Transl. Keith 1920: 136.)

That the sacrificial post is still being burnt in South India after the marriage feasts of the goddess can be seen from the explanation of a ritual singer: "The story of the tree trunk (kampam) at Māriyamman's festival that some people tell... Long ago Īśvarī (Pārvatī) implanted herself in the womb of a Brahman woman and was born as a baby girl. When this girl was five years old she went to school. In the same school a Paṟaiya (untouchable) boy was studying. The boy fell in love with her and when she was ten he went to her parents' home to ask for her hand. They consented (without asking questions), and the marriage took place. Then the groom took the girl to his house. There the

girl's parents saw an assortment of large drums hanging on the wall. They were very angry, but could do nothing since the wedding had already taken place. So her parents gave the couple their blessings and left for home. Afterwards the girl, contemplating the fact that of her marriage to such a man, became angry. Looking up at her husband in anger, she caused his body to become engulfed by fire. He asked her to stop the burning, but she replied that he must never enter her house, even though he be her husband. She cursed him to have his body reduced to ashes by fire. Where those ashes fell she caused margosa (**veppa**) trees to grow. In this form he was told to always stand outside her home." (Beck 1981: 95.)

In this story, the goddess's husband is of low caste, like the wooing buffalo demon in the Mahiṣa Asura myth (Beck 1981: 96). He is, moreover, a 'drummer' (**paṟaiyan**), and the drums beaten during the goddess's annual festival, are covered with buffalo hide (Beck 1981: 117 f.). But most interesting in this legend is its relation to the tree trunk, **kampam**. "Some of the stories describing how Śiva burnt Kāma (erotic desire) in a fit of anger, further mention that the object of his wrath took the form of a tree (O'Flaherty 1973: 158-162). The myths also link this burning of desire to the use of ash in ritual. Hence the ashes on Śiva's ascetic body are said to be those of the burnt Kāma (ibid.: 161). Many local myths, in parallel, insist that when Māriyamman burnt her outcaste lover she turned him into ashes. A description of a festival celebrated by Tamil workers in Sri Lanka explicitly reenacts this myth of Śiva's burning of Kāma. In that festival Kāma is not only impersonated, but also burnt in his form as a post (**kampam**)... And when Durgā battled her demon-lover Mahiṣāsura, at least one story insists that the demon tried to escape by taking the form of a (**vaṉṉi**) tree. However, the goddess discovered this ruse, and cut the tree down. (The story of Śakti, as told by Navaratnam Kurukaḷ of Jaffna, 1974.) The **vaṉṉi** or **summa** (**prosopis spicigera**) is linked in other myths to fire and to the parrot, both of which have larger erotic connotations" (Beck 1981: 121 f., with notes 60 and 62 taken by me into the text).

The name of the **vaṉṉi** tree mentioned here comes from Sanskrit

vahni 'fire' (cf. Biardeau 1981: 228). In Śyāmārcana-taraṅginī-tantra 3,24 a stick of this tree (śamī-daṇḍa) is prescribed as the sacrificial stake (yūpa) of the buffalo sacrifice to the goddess (cf. Biardeau 1981: 232). In the Vedic ritual, the śamī tree plays a central role in the Varuṇa-praghāsa (cf. Krick 1982: 184 f.); this rite sacred to Varuṇa aims at bringing about rain and is loaded with sexual symbols: the wife of the sacrificer has to confess how many lovers she has, and the animal pair made of dough is to be provided with as many sex marks as possible (cf. Gonda 1960: I, 80, 146).

We can conclude that wooden sacrificial pillars representing the phallus were burnt to ashes at the end of their ritual use, both in Vedic times and later. Such burning pillars seem to me to have been the prototypes of Śiva's famous "flaming liṅga pillar" (see Kramrisch 1981: 158 ff.) in Hindu mythology. If this is correct, it becomes understandable why the yoni-pedestal from Mohenjo-daro was made of red stone: apparently for the same reason why the trefoil motif is always red in Harappan art, namely, because it represents the fireplace. We have seen that the fireplace was in Vedic and Pre-Vedic times conceived to be a womb (# 10, # 14). In the sacrifice to the goddess on the ninth day of the navarātri festival (when buffaloes used to be offered), an essential part is an oblation into the fireplace (agni-kuṇḍa, homa-kuṇḍa, yajña-kuṇḍa), which in Gujarat is provided with a small platform called yoni. It is on this platform representing the vulva that the substitute for the buffalo (a gourd) is cut (cf. Biardeau 1981: 237).

In this context the finds in the "citadel" of Kalibangan assume great importance. The southern rhomb of this bipartite structure contained no residential buildings but at least five and probably once eight or nine ceremonial platforms built of mud-brick. A flight of steps led to these platforms from the streets that separated them from each other. Most of the platforms were found in a bad state of preservation, but some evidence elucidating their function does survive. On the top of one of the platforms was "a series of what have been termed as 'fire-altars'... Although these are partly damaged, it would appear

that their number was seven... /cf. fig. 31/. The 'altars' were in fact clay-lined pits, each measuring about 75 x 55 cm. Within each pit were noted ash, charcoal and the remains of a clay stele as well as of what are known as terracotta cakes. Of the last mentioned item, complete examples were found in some of the 'fire-altars' in the residential houses of the Lower Town... The clay stele, as seen from the relatively more intact examples in the Lower Town, stood vertically up, was either cylindrical or slightly faceted, and measured about 30-40 cm in height and 10-15 cm in diameter. /Cf. fig. 32./ It would even appear that it occupied the focal position in the complex" (Lal 1984: 57). "...there were 'fire-altars' in the residential houses in the 'Lower Town' as well. In many of the houses, one of the rooms seems to have been earmarked for putting up a 'fire-altar' which was renewed over and over again as the working level went up" (Lal 1984: 58).

At Lothal, too, ritual fireplaces have been discovered in Mature Harappan layers, from the earliest (IIA) to the latest (IV). "Some of the houses in Block 'A' of the Lower Town had rectangular and circular pits cut into the floor and lined with mud-plaster, while in others rectangular enclosures were built on mud-brick altars... The burnt-brick altars contained terracotta spheroid and ovoid balls, triangular 'cakes' and burnt clay lumps besides ash and potsherds. A terracotta ladle found in close proximity to the altar in Street 9 and bearing smoke-marks... suggests that it was used in pouring a liquid into the fire. Obviously, the circular and rectangular altars must have been built for ritualistic worship of fire...an oval enclosure with a central stump in a house... in Block E at Lothal... resembles the fire-altars at Kalibangan. Fire-altars must have existed at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro also, but they have been missed by the excavators owing to mass digging. One fire-altar was found at Amri and another at Rangpur in IIC" (Rao 1979: I,216-218).

The "posthole" discovered in the "fire-altar" in Street 9 at Lothal (cf. Rao 1979: 216) suggests the use of wooden parallels for the steles made of clay at Kalibangan. The libation of liquid on such a heated stake at Lothal recalls not only the

ablutions of Śiva's liṅga with the five products of the cow (milk, sour milk, melted butter, urine and dung) and sacred water mixed with bilva leaves in the present-day cult (cf. Gonda 1970: 83 f.), but also the pouring of milk upon the heated clay-pot called **mahāvīra** 'great hero' in the pravargya ceremony of the Vedic Soma sacrifice (cf. Buitenen 1968).

The heated pot is considered to be a ritual image of the sun, and the pravargya ceremony is performed once in the forenoon and once in the afternoon. Both of these features as well as the use of milk make it parallel to the agnihotra, the libation of milk into the fire at sunrise and sunset. KB 2,1 identifies these two rites: "The agnihotra (milk) is the cauldron of hot milk which is put on the fire (in the Pravargya ritual). Yonder one who gives out heat /i.e. the sun/ is that cauldron of hot milk. Him he gratifies thereby" (transl. Bodewitz 1976: 35).

ṚS 4,13,5 speaks of the sun as the "pillar of the sky" (**divá skambháḥ**) which "supports the firmament" (cf. also ṚS 10,111,5). TB 2,1,5,2 identifies the sun with the sacrificial stake (**ādityó yūpaḥ**), while AB 5,28 says that for the performer of the agnihotra sacrifice (which does not involve an animal sacrifice) the sun represents the sacrificial post (**asau vā asyādityo yūpaḥ**). JUB 1,10,9-10 quotes two ślokas, the first of which is Pṛthu Vainya's question and the latter the answer of the divine vrātyas; both start with the same words: "They say the sun is a pillar supporting the sky; the sun which is in the atmosphere is based on the earth" (**sthūṇām eva divastambhanīṃ sūryam āhur antarikṣe sūryaḥ pṛthivīpratiṣṭhaḥ**). This association with the proto-Epic ślokas and the vrātyas is significant (cf. Horsch 1966: 129 and passim), for the vrātya tradition can be shown to be of pre-Vedic origin in India (cf. Parpola 1983). The rising sun, which in the morning illuminates the world, is a very important symbol of creation, like the phallus: it "makes" the world, by rendering its forms visible.

The milk offered into the fire is the sun or the sun's seed poured into the womb. Cf. KS 6,3 "Sūrya (the sun) and Agni /the fire/ were in the same receptacle (**yoni**). Thereupon Sūrya rose upwards. He lost his seed. Agni received it... he transferred it

to the cow. It (became) this milk... When one performs the agnihotra with milk, then one offers yonder sun..."; MS 1,8,2 "...The seed of yonder sun is offered here. Uncooked it (would be) unfit for being offered. It should be offered at the moment when it is rising..."; (transl. Bodewitz 1976: 34 f.). The milk is ladled out of the pot into a special offering ladle (**agnihotra-havaṇī**), with which it is poured into the fire (cf. Bodewitz 1976: 68 ff.). KS 6,5 "(With the formula) 'In Agni (be) light, light in Agni' he should offer the agnihotra in the evening. With a speech that has something in the interior he produces an embryo; with a speech which consists of a pair he impregnates. (With the formula) 'Sūrya is the light, the light is Sūrya' (he offers) in the morning..."; MS 1,8,5 "The evening libation is sacred to Agni. Thereby he pours out seed. That pouring of seed makes the night pregnant with an embryo. By the (oblation) sacred to Sūrya he engenders that embryo in the morning" (transl. Bodewitz 1976: 80 f.)

We have seen how the performer of the agnihotra himself is supposed to be reborn into the sky from his own fires at his funeral ceremony (# 10). The pravargya has a similar import, cf. AB 1,22 "The cauldron is a divine pairing; the cauldron is the member, the two handles the testicles, the spoon the thigh bones, the milk the seed; this seed is poured in Agni as the birthplace (**yoni**) of the gods, from the libations; having come into existence as composed of the Ṛc, the Yajus, and the Sāman, and of the Veda, and of the holy power, and as immortal, he attains to the deities who knows thus and who knowing thus sacrifices with this sacrificial rite" (transl. Keith 1920: 124 f.).

The heated pravargya pot is in ŚB 14,1,1,1 ff. said to be the "head of Makha", i.e. the head of the sacrifice which was cut asunder (cf. also Krick 1982: 110 f. and above # 8 for the 'fire-pot' **ukhā** of the agnicayana, which is also called "Makha's head" in ŚB 6,5,2,1-2). "10. It fell with (the sound) 'ghṛṅ'; and on falling it became yonder sun. And the rest (of the body) lay stretched out (with the top part) towards the east... 11. The gods spake, 'Verily, our great hero (**mahān vīraḥ**) has fallen': therefrom the Mahāvīra pot (was named)... 17... The gods went on

worshipping and toiling with that headless sacrifice. 18. Now Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa knew this pure essence, this Sacrifice, - how this head of the Sacrifice is put on again, how this sacrifice becomes complete. 19. He then was spoken to by Indra saying, 'If thou teachest this (sacrificial mystery) to any one else, I shall cut off thy head.'..." (Transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 441 ff.) Even so, Dadhyañc teaches the secret to the divine physicians, after they have suggested a stratagem to deceive Indra: "24. He then received them (as his pupils); and when he had received them, they cut off his head, and put it aside elsewhere; and having fetched the head of a horse, they put it on him: therewith he taught them; and when he had taught them, Indra cut off that head of his; and having fetched his own head, they put it on him again." (Ib. 445)

I have elsewhere suggested that such a ritual exchange of the heads of a sacrificed man and a sacrificed horse gave rise to the mythical image of the divine musicians, kiṃpuruṣas or kinnaras, as beings with a human body but a horse's head or vice versa. Moreover, it could be shown that the name **kinnara** originally denotes the harp played by these musicians, and that it is of Dravidian origin, and borrowed into the Near East as early as in the 24th century B.C., i.e. during Harappan times. (Cf. Parpola 1983: 57-70.)

The word **makha**, which is repeated time and again in the formulas of the pravargya ceremony (cf. ŚB 14,1,2,9 ff.), is in ṚS 10,171,2 the name of a demon slain by Indra, i.e. the name of an enemy god. Its etymology is debated (cf. Mayrhofer 1976: III, 542 f.), but as Makha is said to have been a "great hero" (cf. ŚB 14,1,1,11 above), Grassmann's proposal to connect it with Greek **makhomai** 'fight' looks plausible. As an alternative I would like to suggest the basic Dravidian word **makan** 'son, (young) male, warrior, hero' (DEDR no. 4616), in which the intervocalically lenitioned -k- may very early have been realized as a velar spirant (cf. Zvelebil 1970: 80 f.). In any case, there is a clear connection with a warrior's head, and the myth of Dadhyañc recalls the ceremonies performed in the human sacrifice in Karnataka, where three human heads were used to make the sacrificial

hearth (# 14). Dadhyañc, who has the knowledge of putting the head of the sacrifice back and making it complete again, appears to be a multiform of the Planet Venus, Śukra ('Seed'), for he is said to have received from Śiva the magic knowledge Sañjīvanī that revives the dead. By means of the spell for instantaneous revival, this priest of the Asuras revived the demons slain by the gods in battle, and made them rise from the dead. (Cf. Mahābhārata 1,71,7-9; Kramrisch 1981: 135 f.).

In the pravargya ritual, the heated vessel representing Makha's head is placed on a throne (āsandī) and greeted as "universal king" (samrāj). His seat "is shoulder-higher, for on the shoulders this head is set: he thus sets the head upon the shoulders" (ŚB 14,1,3,10). This seat is higher than the throne of king Soma, and placed north of it, south of the sacrificial fire: "And as to why he places it north (of Soma's seat), - Soma is the sacrifice, and the Pravargya is its head; but the head is higher (uttara): therefore he places it north (uttara) of it. Moreover, Soma is king, and the Pravargya is emperor, and the imperial dignity is higher than the royal: therefore he places it north of it." (ŚB 14,1,3,12, transl. Eggeling 1900: V, 461.) The higher and lower thrones for Pravargya (sun) and Soma (moon) seem to correspond to the standing and sitting postures of the warrior-god and the "Proto-Śiva" distinguished in # 3.

A severed human head placed on a throne is depicted in one of the most famous Indus seals from Mohenjo-daro (DK 6847, see fig. 33). Significantly, its hair is arranged into a double bun at the back of the head: this is the Harappan warrior's hairstyle (cf. # 3). This would seem to represent "Makha's head", i.e. the head of a warrior cut in a human sacrifice. The throne is placed in front of a fig tree inside which is an anthropomorphic god. The aśvattha or pipal fig is the abode of the fire-god Agni: "When Agni was born, his glow flamed up and entered the aśvattha tree. In that he puts a fuel stick of aśvattha wood into the fire, he obtains (Agni's) glow" (MS 1,6,5). The aśvattha tree came into being from the horse head of Prajāpati (cf. MS 1,6,12), i.e. Varuṇa in the form of the sacrificial horse. The head seems to represent an offering to the goddess of Victory inhabiting the

sacred fig tree, comparable to the later human sacrifices to banyan tree for the sake of victory, recorded in the Jātakas (no. 353). In later Hindu iconography, Durgā, the goddess of victory, is often represented as standing on the head of the buffalo (cf. Stietencron 1983). The animal depicted on the left side of the seal is the wild markhor goat (Sanskrit **śarabha**), mentioned in the Kālikā-Purāṇa (57,5-6 and in Kane 1955: V.1, 165 n. 425) as a victim that pleases the Goddess as much as the buffalo.

The seven anthropomorphic figures, who stand in a row at the bottom of the seal, are probably female, because they wear their hair in a pig-tail as Indian ladies traditionally do. In some other Harappan representations of the same scene, their number is six (cf. fig. 34). This fluctiation between six and seven is particularly significant, for it supports the identification of the female figures with the stars of the Kṛttikās, the Pleiades: in mythology, the number of the Kṛttikās is six or seven, depending on whether Arundhatī (the star Alcor in Ursa Major) is included or not. The six stars of the Pleiades are said to be the unfaithful wives of the seven sages (the stars of the Ursa Major), separated from their husbands on this account. (Cf. ŚB 2,1,2,1 ff. and # 16.) Only the seventh, the faithful Arundhatī, was permitted to stay with her husband as the small star Alcor (vaṭa-mīṉ in Old Tamil: cf. # 11). The Pleiades are connected with the beginning of the year (the birth of the sun) and the establishment of the sacred fire (# 16). The Kṛttikās are, as his "mothers", associated with the birth and with the war expeditions of the war-god Skanda or Kārttikeya, the consort of the Goddess of Victory and her male counterpart, represented by the sacrificed warrior. (For an extensive discussion of these interpretations of the seal, see Parpola in press.)

In addition to this Harappan seal, there is one further reason why I have discussed the head symbolism of the pravargya vessel. On the top of one of the Harappan sacrificial platforms in the "citadel" of Kalibangan was found not only a "fire-altar" and a well, but also "a rectangular pit, measuring 1.25 x 1 m and lined with kiln-burnt bricks. Within it lay bovine bones and antlers, evidently representing some kind of a sacrifice" (Lal 1984: 57).

On one of the "triangular cakes" found in Kalibangan, such as have been found in the ritual fireplaces, there is on one side drawn the image of the buffalo-horned "Proto-Śiva", and on the other, "a person drawing an animal with the help of a rope (?) tied round its neck" (Lal 1984: 57). In the Vedic ritual, too, there is a pit (called **ūvadhyagoha**) into which the impure parts of the sacrificed animal are buried, dug west of the **śāmitra** fire in which the meat is roasted (cf. Sen 1978: 56 f.; for other parallel pits cf. Krick 1982: 116). This is admittedly a rather general parallel; but the Vedic and Hindu sources offer still other, specific counterparts to the Kalibangan "fire-altars" and their ritual enabling us to appreciate their significance.

18. The dhiṣṇya hearths and the seven sages of the sky

One of the platforms in the "citadel" of Kalibangan has seven "fire-altars" on its top. "The row of these altars ran north-south and immediately behind it was a burnt-brick wall. The result of such a disposition... must have been that whosoever used the altars had to sit on their western side, facing the east... To the west of the row, but within easy reach of the 'worshipper', was the lower half of a jar, partly embedded in the ground and full of ash and charcoal. Perhaps in it was kept some ready fire to be used for the ritual... on this very platform, a short distance away from these altars, were a well and the remains of a few bath-pavements with attached drains. This kind of lay-out clearly suggests that ceremonial bathing constituted a part of the ritual..." (Lal 1984: 57).

Bathing (**snāna**) in the morning before daybreak has been the general rule for all Hindus for centuries. Daily bathing is obligatory. "This is required to be done, because a man who has not bathed is not entitled to perform homa, japa and other rites (Śaṅkha VIII.2, Dakṣa II.9). The body is dirty and from it ooze various exudations day and night and a bath in the morning cleanses and purifies the body" (Kane 1941: II.1, 658 f.). After the morning bath ordinary high-caste Hindus perform the **sandhyāvanda-**

na, the morning prayer addressed to the rising sun. (Cf. Kane 1941: II.1, 312-321.)

The agnihotrin performs after the bath the morning sacrifice of hot milk into the sacred fire, which is kept constantly burning in a separate room of his house; this agnihotra room is comparable to the room with the "fire-altar" in the houses of the "lower town" in Kalibangan. ŚB 2,3,1,6 speaks of the agnihotra in terms very similar to those used of the avabhṛtha bath (cf. # 15): "Just as a snake may free itself from its skin, so does he (the sun) free himself from the evil which is the night. And just as a snake may free itself from its skin, so does he who knowing thus offers the agnihotra free himself from all evil" (transl. Bodewitz 1976: 153). The presence of bathing platforms near the Harappan "fire-altars" supports the interpretation that they are related to the Vedic agnihotra.

The seven "fire-altars" in a north-south row at the "citadel" of Kalibangan are very closely parallelled by the Vedic dhiṣṇya hearths, six of which are in a north-south row inside the "sitting- hall" (the priests sit to the west of them, facing east, as in Kalibangan). These dhiṣṇyas belong to six priests, while one more priest has a fireplace of his own to the north of the others, on the border of the sacrificial area (cf. # 9 and fig. 19). The dhiṣṇya fireplaces of the sacrificial priests are called by certain names while they are being prepared and while they are being worshipped by the priests entering the sitting-hall (cf. Caland & Henry 1906-07: nos. 99-100 & 142). For example, the dhiṣṇya of the Neṣṭar priest is addressed with the following formula: "Thou art Aṅghāri, Bambhāri" (TS 1,3,3 f; PB 1,4,7; etc., cf. Parpola 1968: I/1, 128 ff.; 1969: I/2, 179 ff.). Aṅghāri and Bambhāri are names which are otherwise virtually unknown, but they do occur among the seven "names of the dhiṣṇyas" (cf. ŚB 3,3,3,11) which are addressed, in the vocative case, to the seller of the soma plant during a soma sacrifice when he is given the objects used in the purchase of soma: Svāna, Bhrāja, Aṅghāri, Bambhāri, Hasta, Suhasta, Kṛśānu (cf. Caland & Henry 1906-07: 47 no. 34).

The commentator of the last-mentioned formula (VS 4,27 c)

explains that the bearers of these names are "guardians of the soma standing upon dhiṣṇyas" (dhiṣṇyādhiṣṭhātāraḥ somarakṣakāḥ). Indeed, almost all Brāhmaṇa texts tell that the dhiṣṇ(i)yas were, as fiery Gandharvas, guarding the soma in the heavenly world: cf. JB 1,287 atha hendrasya tridive soma āsa; taṃ hāgnayo gandharvā jugupuyur, eta eva dhiṣṇyāḥ; ta u evāśīviṣāḥ; ŚB 3,6,2,9 tám eté gandharvā́ḥ somarakṣā́ jugupur, imé dhíṣṇyā imā́ hótrāḥ; KS 26,1 amuṣmin vai loke soma āsīt, taṃ dhiṣṇyā agopāyan; TS 6,3,1,2 dhíṣṇiyā vā́ amúṣmiṁl loké sómam arakṣan; cf. also MS 3,8,10: 109,10. These Gandharva soma-wardens get the price of the soma as their share, because the gods acceded to their wish: "Even as in yonder (heavenly) world we have been his keepers (i.e. guardians of the soma identified with the moon), so also will we be his keepers on the earth" (ŚB 3,6,2,18).

According to ŚB 3,2,4,1 ff., the gods had to get the soma from the Gandharvas, who had stolen it. In the Vedic ritual these Gandharvas are represented by the mistreated soma-seller, who is either from the despised Kutsa family or a śūdra, member of the lowest class beneath the three classes of "twice-born" Aryans (cf. Caland & Henry 1906-07: 43 ff. nos. 33-34; Hillebrandt 1891: I, 69 ff.). These are among the facts suggesting that the Gandharvas are to be connected with the pre-Vedic inhabitants of the Northwestern mountain region, where the Vedic Aryans procured their soma plant: the best soma is said to have come from the mountain Mūjavant. Concluding that the Gandharvas originate from non-brahmanical circles, Hillebrandt (1891: I,439) pointed out that the word gandharva is not found at all in the oldest so-called "family" books of the Ṛgveda (books 2-7), and even in the 8th book it denotes an inimical demon subdued by Indra.

In the Veda, Gandharva is a mythical being that has indeed confusingly many different aspects, and the word may be used in singular or in plural. In some contexts, such as notably ŚB 3,2,1,18 ff.; 3,2,4,1 ff. and 11,2,3,7, it is quite clear that human beings inimical to the Vedic Aryans are meant. At the same time, these and other contexts suggest that already early on, the Gandharvas and their mates, the Apsarases, were very similar to their description in later epic and Purāṇic literature, where

they are beautiful and skilful fairies living in the northern mountains, famous for their passionate love, music and dance. The Gandharvas have such a nature also in the passages which I would like to mention as particularly relevant in the present context: these associate the Gandharvas as wardens of soma with heavenly bodies.

In ŚB 5,1,4,8, the Gandharvas are said to be 27 in number: this is a clear identification with the calendrical asterisms, the "lunar houses", which are 27 (or, more rarely, 28) in number. Soma, as the immortalizing drink of the gods guarded by the Gandharvas, is in the younger Vedic literature and in the epics identified with the moon, the source of rain (cf. Macdonell 1897: 112 f.; Hopkins 1915: 90). In the Brāhmaṇas, also the moon itself is said to be a Gandharva, and the lunar constellations apsarases, his mates (KS 18,1; TS 3,4,7,1; VS 18,40; ŚB 9,4,1,9). King Soma is also referred to as the seed-layer par excellence, the full moon who cohabits with all the constellations (Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 3,13).

The full moon, which approaches astral lady after another, in a cycle, reminds one strongly of the "full" incarnation of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa "the black or dark" god (contrasted with his "white" brother Balarāma), who during the night dances circular love-dances with the beautiful cowherdesses in such a way that each of them believes that her beloved unites just with herself. As the "black" god associated with the night, Kṛṣṇa again reminds one of Varuṇa and Yama, who in the Brāhmaṇa literature are connected with the colour black. The mount of Yama - once associated with Varuṇa, too - is the dark water buffalo, which bathes in muddy waters (cf. # 11). Varuṇa-Prajāpati is more usually connected with the tortoise - a symbol of the nightly aspect of the sun and called "the lord/husband of waters" (apā́m pátiḥ)(cf. ŚB 6,1,1,12; 7,5,1,1-11) or the alligator/crocodile (cf. # 14). Could one of these animals be intended in the oldest meaning of the word **gandharva** in the Veda and the Avesta, which is 'aquatic monster' of some sort (cf. ṚS 9,86,36 **apā́m gandharvā́m divyā́m nṛcákṣasam sómam**; Hillebrandt 1891: I, 426 ff.)?

Aṅghāri and Bambhāri also figure among the "eleven groups of

Gandharvas" (ekādaśa gandharvagaṇāḥ) mentioned in TĀ 1,9,3. This text, however, is comparatively late. In the earlier Vedic texts, the number of the Gandharvas associated with the dhiṣṇyas is seven (cf. VS 4,27; TS 1,2,7 h; MS 1,2,5; KS 2,6). Seven is also the number of the officiating priests at the soma sacrifice who have a dhiṣṇya fire of their own (dhiṣṇyavantaḥ): these seven priests are also called "the seven sacrificers" (sapta hotrāḥ) (cf. Caland & Henry 1906-07: 3 no. 3).

Seven sacrificing priests (saptá hótṝn) are referred to in ṚS 10,35,10. Another hymn, ṚS 9,97,26, speaks of hótāraḥ... diviyájaḥ, an ambiguous expression, which can be interpreted either "who sacrificed in the early morning", "who sacrificed in the heaven", or (with the medieval commentator Sāyaṇa) "who sacrificed to the gods dwelling in the heaven". In any case, there are many references to the "first divine/heavenly sacrificers" (daívyā hótārā prathamā́ḥ, cf. ṚS 2,3,7; 3,4,7; 10,66,3; 10,110,7; 1,188,7; also daívyā hótāro... pū́rve in 10,128,3), seven in number (3,4,7): they are undoubtedly the "seven divine sages" (ṛ́ṣayaḥ saptá daívyāḥ) in ṚS 10,130,7, apparently identified with the "human sages, our forefathers" who were the first to perform a sacrifice (10,130,6).

In the gotra and pravara sections of the Śrautasūtras the seven sages are enumerated by name as the ultimate ancestors of the brahmanical family lineages: Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gotama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa. (Cf. Mitchiner 1982: 4, 79 ff.). In its discussion of the sacrifices of the sages (ṛṣistomāḥ), JB 2,217-220 mentions all these except Kaśyapa and in addition - as the last of all - Agastya: they are said to be the sages who won the world of heaven with ascetic practices (ṛṣayo ha vai svargaṃ lokaṃ jigyuḥ śrameṇa tapasā vratacaryeṇa) (cf. ibid. 6). JUB 4,26,12 makes it quite clear that the seven sages are the circumpolar stars of Ursa major by stating that "the centre of heaven is where the seven sages are" (atha yatraite saptarṣayas tad divo madhyam).

According to HGS 1,7,22,2 ff. the newly wed immediately upon arrival at home establish their nuptial fire as the domestic hearth, which should be kept up continually. Thereafter, "10.

They sit silently until the stars appear. 11. When the stars have appeared, he goes forth from the house (with his wife) in an easterly or northerly direction, and worships the quarters (of the horizon)... 12. (He worships) the stars with (the Pada), 'May we not be deprived of our offspring'; 13. The Moon with... 14. He worships the seven Ṛṣis (ursa major) with (the verse), 'The seven Ṛṣis who have led to firmness she, Arundhatī, who stands first among the six Kṛttikās (pleiads): - may she, the eighth one, who leads the conjunction of the (moon with the) six Kṛttikās, the first (among conjunctions) shine upon us!' Then he worships the polar star with (the formula), 'Firm dwelling, firm origin. The firm one art thou, standing on the side of firmness. Thou art the pillar of the stars (**nakṣatrāṇāṃ methi**); thus protect me against my adversary...' /follow very many mantras where the pole star is addressed as 'the Brahman, the firm, immovable one' and 'the nave of the universe'/." (transl. Oldenberg 1892: II, 194).

While describing the opening of the annual course of study, the same text states (HGS 2,8,19,2-5): "2. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja and Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa: these are the seven Ṛṣis. 3. Wearing their sacrificial cords below (round their body) they arrange towards the north, at a place inclined towards the north, seats of northwards-pointed Darbha grass, so that they end in the east, for Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa. 4. Between Vasiṣṭha and Kaśyapa they arrange (a seat) for Arundhatī, (the wife of Vasiṣṭha); 5. Towards the south, in a place inclined towards the east, for Agastya." (Transl. Oldenberg 1892: II, 244.)

Alfred Hillebrandt (1902: III, 421-423) has suggested that in the Vedic śrauta sacrifices, the **dhiṣṇya** fireplaces which are connected with seven officiating priests could be the earthly counterparts of places in heaven belonging to the seven sacrificers of the primeval offering. As we have seen from the domestic rituals quoted above, such a heavenly counterpart to the earthly dhiṣṇyas is supplied by the seven stars of the Ursa major, called in Sanskrit "the seven sages" (**sapta ṛṣayaḥ**) in ŚB 2,1,2,4 and even as early as ṚS 10,82,2. Hillebrandt's hypothesis is supported by the express identification of the soma-

guarding heavenly Gandharvas (elsewhere appearing as the 27 constellations) with the dhiṣṇya-fireplaces as well as with the "sacrificers" (hótrāḥ) in ŚB 3,6,2,9 (see # 9).

ŚB 2,1,2,4 states that the Kṛttikās (Pleiades) rising in the east were formerly the wives of the seven sages, but are now precluded from sexual intercourse with their husbands, which rise in the north. Here the text further adds that the seven sages were formerly called "Bears" (saptárṣīn u ha sma vaí purárkṣā ity ā́cakṣate): that "Bear" is an old Indo-European appellation of Ursa Major (this Latin name of the "Great Bear" is due to Greek influence) is proved by a comparison with Homer (Iliad 18,489 = Odyssey 5,275), who says that the female Bear (hē árktos) is the only circumpolar asterism "which does not sink in the ocean" (cf. Scherer 1953: 131 ff.). In Khotanese Śaka, too, "to the Seven Bears" (haudha/hāṃda raichāṃ hāle) denotes "to the north" (cf. Bailey 1979: 498 and Mitchiner 1982: 265 f.). But since the times of the late Ṛgveda (10,82,2) this asterism is almost exclusively called "seven sages": as the new name does not differ from the old one very much phonetically, it looks like a transformation of the earlier Indian name of the constellation, possibly the "seven sacrificers" (sapta hotrāḥ; besides hótṛ, the words vípra, rebhá and kārú are used in the Ṛgveda, cf. Hillebrandt 1902: III,422), which in turn is likely to be a translation from Harappan Dravidian.

Whatever the second part of the original Dravidian compound may have been, the first must have been ĕḷu 'seven' (DEDR no. 910). This word has an ancient homonym in the verbal root eḷu 'to rise' (DEDR no. 851a), used also of the ascent of heavenly bodies. Tamil eḷu-ñāyiṟu 'rising sun', for instance, is derived from this verb: the Dravidian homophony may have contributed to the idea that the fire-sacrifice at sunrise had to be performed by seven (eḷu) priests; the Brāhmaṇa texts are full of reasoning based on such homonymies. Late Old Tamil ēḷ uṟu muṉivar 'the seven great sages' in Paripāṭal 5,37 may have preserved the second compound. The root uṟu means 'to be, dwell, stay, stand, remain, happen, occur; be close in contact, touch, love, have sexual intercourse' (DEDR no. 710). In Old Tamil, the personal

noun from this root, uṟuvaṉ, denotes (according to TL) 'great one, lord, master' (Cilapp. 9,53), 'sage, saint' (Nālaṭi 104), 'Arhat' (Piṅkala), 'new arrival, guest' (Patiṟṟup. 43,19); cf. also uṟuvarar 'celestials' (Cīvaka. 119).

A most important piece of evidence relating to the early symbolism of the constellation Ursa Major and its connection with the liṅga cult is given by the Avestan name of this asterism. Avestan **haptō-iringa-** 'Ursa Major' corresponds to *__sapta-liṅga-__ 'having seven liṅgas' in Sanskrit, though such a compound is not known from the Indian texts (cf. Bartholomae 1904: 1767). The Sanskrit word **liṅga** is first attested in late Vedic and epic texts, and its basic meaning is 'characteristic mark, sign'; in Śiva's liṅga and other contexts it has the meaning of 'penis, phallus' as the 'characteristic mark' of the male sex. Avestan **iringa-** can also be explained from the basic meaning 'mark, sign'. My friend Juha Janhunen (oral communication) has observed that the Finnish word **tähti** 'star', too, originally means 'mark, sign' (cf. SKES s.v.). That the Avestan **haptō-iringa-** should be understood to imply both of these specialized meanings, 'star' as well as 'phallus', is suggested by the clay phalli in the seven ritual fireplaces in the "citadel" of Kalibangan, which, as we have seen, appear to have been connected with the "seven sacrificers", i.e. the "seven sages" of Ursa Major.

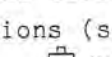
The etymology of the word **liṅga** is an open question. Because it is not found in the oldest Sanskrit texts, and because it is so central to the terminology of the non-Aryan phallic cult, and because none of the proposed Indo-European etymologies is convincing, many scholars have opted for a non-Aryan origin. Mayrhofer (1976: II, 101) is ready to accept Avestan **iringa** as a cognate of Sanskrit liṅga - from Iranian *__riṅga__ - and in principle an Aryan and Indo-European origin for the word originally meaning 'mark, sign', but concludes that there is no convincing explanation. However, we know that the Aryans have had a different Indo-European name for the constellation Ursa Major, while "seven liṅgas" are in agreement with the Harappan evidence. A translation loan is not excluded, but a priori it looks more likely that **liṅga** is a Dravidian loanword. If this is the case,

it should be possible to find a solution. Moreover, since Avestan, like the Ṛgvedic language, was characterized by rhotacism (merger of l and r into r), while classical Sanskrit has preserved the distinction between l and r, liṅga may be closer to the original than *riṅga.

Proto-Dravidian seems to have had no word-initial l- or r- (cf. Zvelebil 1970: 142, 145), but "a number of etyma in Kannaḍa, Telugu and some Central Dravidian and North Dravidian languages beginning with l- had originally *n- initially, cf. Tamil noḷ 'to bale out as water' : Malto lole 'to take out with a spoon'... Sometimes, the alternation n-/l- is of such nature that it is difficult to say what was original and what secondary..." (Zvelebil 1970: 143). There are also "a few words in Sanskrit of Dravidian origin which show initial l- as opposed to n- or ñ- in Dravidian. A fluctuation between l- and n- occurs sporadically in Indo-Aryan at all periods... Consequently it is not surprising to find l- for n- in Sanskrit words, even in such cases where no form with initial l- is found in Dravidian. An obvious example of this change is the Sanskrit word for 'plough', lāṅgala-. Compared with this all the Dravidian languages show initial n- or ñ-: Tamil ñāñcil, Kannaḍa nēgal, Gondi nāngēl, Kui nāngeli, etc. In this case Pāli naṅgala- agrees with Dravidian..." (Burrow 1943-46: 615). On this basis Sanskrit liṅga can be derived from the Proto-Dravidian root *ni(ṅ)g- (intr.) 'to rise, become erect, stand upright, to be extended' / *nikk- (transit.) 'to raise, erect' (cf. DEDR 2922, 3662, 3665, 3730).

Such a derivation agrees well with the meaning 'phallus' and 'erected post' for liṅga. As a parallel one can mention the Tamil noun eḻu 'column, pillar' (recorded already in the early lexicon Tivākaram), derived from the Proto-Dravidian root eḻu 'to rise' (DEDR no. 851a); at least in a dialect of Gondi this verb is used in the meaning 'to become erect (obscene)' (ibid.). In the Gond variants for the "Pine forest myth" (see below), the multiform of Śiva is called Liṅgo or Liṅgal, and this name is "attributed to the erection of his liṅga" (O'Flaherty 1973: 176): "/All but the youngest of seven brothers married. The six wives fell in love with the youngest brother... As he was driving the buffaloes he

came face to face with his sisters-in-law who were bringing him his food./ His liṅg stood up stout and strong before him, and when the girls saw it they said, 'Look how stout and strong is his liṅg, from today his name must be Liṅgo'..." (ibid.). The meaning 'mark, sign' for liṅga, which must be very old, can be explained by assuming the semantic development '(out)standing object' > '(land)mark': cf. *nig- 'to be(come) visible, manifest, notorious, famous; to shine, glitter, glow' (DEDR 3659).

In the Indus script, there is a pictogram, , which may depict phallus: this hypothesis is based on its resemblance to the Sumerian pictogram meaning "phallus, penis" (cf. Labat 1959: 120 f.). A circumstance that speaks in favour of this interpretation is that among the different occurrences of the sign in the Indus inscriptions (see Koskenniemi and Parpola 1982: 145-146), the combination  , i.e. "seven (7 short strokes) + phallus (?)" is attested in 13 different inscriptions. There is only one other sign that occurs more often after number seven in the Indus texts (cf. Koskenniemi & Parpola 1982: 93 f.).

The Hindu mythology provides important evidence for the association of the linga cult with the "seven sages" and therefore also with Ursa Major, thus endorsing the above suggested interpretations of the Kalibangan fire-altars and of Avestan **haptō-iringa-**. In many well-known myths, the seven sages and their wives are, in one way or another, specifically associated with sexual intercourse and with Śiva's liṅga or seed. It was in the hermitage of the seven sages, in the forest of **deodar** ('god-wood') trees, that Śiva broke his vow of chastity, had intercourse with the wives of the seven sages, and became castrated: his liṅga fell on earth (cf. O'Flaherty 1973: 93-110, 172-209; Kramrisch 1981: 153 ff.). In the Purāṇas this myth is usually told as the background of liṅga worship: "The sages cursed Śiva's **liṅga** to fall to the earth, and it burnt everything before it like a fire... All creatures were troubled, and the sages went in desperation to Brahmā, who said to them, 'As long as the **liṅga** is not still, there will be nothing auspicious in the universe. You must propitiate Devī so that she will take the form of the **yoni**, and then the **liṅga** will become still.'... Thus **liṅga**-worship was

established." (Śiva-Purāṇa 4,12,17-52, transl. O'Flaherty 1973: 257).

The fact that the hermitage of the seven sages is situated in **dāru-vanam**, forest of (deva-)**dāru** trees (i.e. trees of deodar pine, lit. 'tree of the god'), is also significant. It was suggested above (# 17) that Śiva's mythical "fiery liṅga" - called **anala-stambha** in Liṅga-Purāṇa - may correspond to the burning of the sacrificial stake in the ritual; and in KS 30,9 the sacrificial pillar is called **stambha** or **dāru**. In order to throw the pillar into the sacred fire it had to be uprooted, which corresponds to the castration of Śiva in the myth. Of course, Śiva's "burning" liṅga has other symbolic meanings as well, such as "the energy of the sun and the fire" (in the older versions of the myth, the wives of the seven sages are seduced by Agni 'fire'), "ascetic heat" (**tapas**), and "sexual heat" (cf. O'Flaherty 1973; Kramrisch 1981). Thus in Mahābhāgavata 24,33, Śiva says: "I burn day and night because of Kāma /sexual desire/. I will find no peace (**śānti**) without Pārvatī" (transl. O'Flaherty 1973: 256). But here I want to underline the establishment of the liṅga-cult by the seven sages and the burning of Śiva's liṅga, because these details square with the seven fire-heated "liṅgas" of Kalibangan.

We have seen that the **dhiṣṇya** fireplaces of the Vedic ritual belong to seven officiating priests called "the seven sacrificers", who evidently personify the "seven sacrificers" of yore, i.e. the seven sages. But the dhiṣṇyas are also equated with the Gandharvas (see above). The astral implications of this identification have already been discussed, but the erotic aspect becomes fully comprehensible only when it is viewed in connection with the dhiṣṇyas' relationship to the seven sages and the liṅga cult. The Gandharvas are in the Veda particularly known for their sexual appetite (cf. ŚB 3,2,4,3; 3,9,3,20 **yoṣítkāmā vaí gandharvā́ḥ** "the gandharvas desire women"; similarly KS 24,1; MS 3,7,3; TS 6,1,6,5; AB 1,27; KB 12,3). In the marriage hymn ṚS 10,85, verse 39 refers to the sexual intercourse and mentions the male member, while the following four verses 38-41 speak about the three divine grooms of the bride, Soma, Gandharva and Agni, to whom the bride is married one after the other before her human

husband. This is reflected in the Vedic marriage ritual, where the consummation can take place only after a stick of udumbara fig representing the Gandharva has been kept between the bride and bridegroom for three nights (cf. BaudhGS 1,5,6 ff.; ĀpGS 3,8,8 ff.). The establishment of the domestic fire symbolizes generation and rebirth (cf. # 16), and at the marriage ritual it is followed by the worship of the stars (with the formula "May we not be deprived of our offspring" in HGS 1,7,22,12) and the seven sages (cf. above). On the fourth night thereafter, the marriage is consummated (cf. HGS 1,7,23,10 ff.).

The asceticism (**tapas**, literally, 'fiery heat, glow') of the seven sages is seemingly in conflict with sexuality, but actually purports to highten their power of creation. Indeed, this paradox is central to the mythology of Śiva and his liṅga, as has been shown by O'Flaherty (1973: 4 ff.): Śiva is "permanently ithyphallic, yet perpetually chaste". Śiva and the ascetics are **ūrdhvaretas**, i.e. they "have their seed drawn upwards". In yoga, the seed is directed to rise inside the body up to the crown of the head to bring about enlightenment, liberation and bliss. The seed is synonymous with creative powers: spilling it means loss of power and energy, restraining it means accumulation of power. Indian mythology is full of stories where the power of an ascetic becomes so great that the overgod himself becomes uncertain of his position and sends a beautiful apsaras to seduce the sage and thus annihilate his fiery energy. These general conceptions apply fully in the case of the seven sages (cf. Mitchiner 1982: 233 f.).

"The question of why the ascetic Ṛṣis married and had children must be considered in the light of their being the Mind-born Sons of Brahmā. Brahmā is the god of creation who, by his **tapas**, brought the universe into existence; his very nature is to increase and expand, to propagate and set in motion the cycles of creation. The Ṛṣis, created by him as his Mind-born Sons, share in his nature and are created for the express purpose of continuing and expanding the creative process. Thus, when Brahmā first creates offspring who do not increase or take wives, he curses and abandons them and instead creates the Seven Ṛṣis as

Prajāpatis or lords of creation; and at his command, the Ṛṣis marry and beget sons and grandsons" (Mitchiner 1982: 236). The seven sages give birth to divine sons: "it is indeed on account of the purity and strength of the Ṛṣis' tapas that the gods consent to become their sons: and we have here once again the idea that it is only through rigid and single-minded devotion to ascetism - involving the denial and sublimation of all sexual activities in order to build up the maximum amount of inner heat - that the greatest creative potency and power can be obtained" (Mitchiner 1982: 243).

The chief deity of the Brāhmaṇa texts is the predecessor of the later Brahmā, the creator god Prajāpati (earlier Varuṇa). In numerous myths Prajāpati first accumulates creative fervour through asceticism (tapas tap-), and then creates the worlds, the term used usually being sṛj-, denoting 'emitting seed'. Hymn 11,5 of the Atharvaveda praises the "chaste pupil" (brahmacārin) and his "ascetic/creative fervour" (tapas), yet says in verse 12: "Shouting forth, thundering, red, white he carries a great penis (bṛhác chépaḥ) along the earth. The Brahmacārin sprinkles seed (rétas) upon the back of the earth; through it the four directions live" (transl. Bloomfield 1897: 216). In the śrauta ritual, the creator god Prajāpati/Varuṇa is represented especially by the chief victim of the horse or human sacrifice: this victim has to practise celibacy during the entire year foregoing his "sacred marriage" with the queen. The mythical counterpart of this ritual, in which this fecundating male partner is put to death, is the story of Prajāpati's incest and his death through the arrows shot by Rudra, the "fiery" son born of this illicit union. (Cf. Parpola 1983.) In the epic versions of the myth, as in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, the seven sages forsake their beautiful wives because they had all had intercourse with Agni or Śiva, except Arundhatī, the faithful wife of Vasiṣṭha, who could not be seduced. In some variants, the Kṛttikās bathe in the river Ganges at the spot where the seed falls down, and become pregnant of it, or nurse the child who is instantly born of the seed: the warrior god Skanda-Kārttikeya. (Cf. Hopkins 1915: 104, 182; O'Flaherty 1973: 94 ff.) The Ganges is supposed to be a river that has

descended on the earth from heaven: "the heavenly Ganges" (ākāśa-gaṅgā) is in fact the Sanskrit name of the ecliptic, and it is undoubtedly this heavenly river that was primarily intended in this myth. For clearly the birth of the vernal sun at the new year was one of the principal motifs that has given rise to the myth.

Personally I consider this myth of kumārasaṃbhava - the birth of the wargod (Rudra, Skanda, Kārttikeya) - to be one of the very oldest and most central myths in the entire Vedic/Hindu mythology. Its antiquity is demonstrated above all by its connection with the seven sages and their wives, the Kṛttikās - mythical figures that can be traced back to Harappan seals and fireplaces - and simultaneously with the nakṣatra calendar, which can be astronomically dated to ca. 2300 B.C. It has been suggested that the "seven sages" i.e. the asterism of Ursa Major actually played a central role in the creation of the nakṣatra calendar, which starts with the Kṛttikā asterism.

The nakṣatra calendar is based upon the the opposition of the sun and the full moon: the stars for the calendrical asterisms were selected with the express purpose of obtaining diametrically opposed pairs of constellations. Even rather small stars were preferred to larger ones for this reason, because determination of the sun's position in the sky - which was one of the chief uses of a star calendar - became in this way much easier than before: seeing the moon full in one asterism the expert knew that the sun was in the opposite asterism. Before the creation of the naksatra calendar - undoubtedly by Harappan astronomers - the position of the sun was probably determined in the same less convenient way that was prevalent in the ancient Near East: by observing the heliacal risings and settings of the stars. One had, in other words, to watch which stars appeared in the horizon at the same time as the sun, and which stars disappeared in the horizon together with the sun; the brightness of the sun obviously makes such observations difficult and temporally short. Because all the stars of the ecliptic (the apparent path of the sun and the planets) are not simultaneously visible in the sky, but one part of them is beneath the horizon, clearly recognizable

circumpolar stars, such as Ursa Major, must have been used in locating the stellar oppositions, because only stars close enough to the pole of the rotating heavens never go beneath the horizon but are all the time available to take bearings. (Cf. Filliozat 1962.)

The nakṣatra calendar, therefore, appears to be no direct loan from Mesopotamia, as has often been supposed, but a Harappan innovation. Yet its relationship to the Near Eastern star calendars remains to be determined in detail. In this connection one should not forget one Indo-Mesopotamian parallel pointed out by Mitchiner (1982: 269), who interprets the seven anthropomorphic figures in the Harappan seal illustrated in fig. 33 as the seven sages. (I have suggested above in # 17 that these figures rather are the Kṛttikās, because they wear a female hairstyle and are in other representations only six in number.) Mitchiner continues: "These figures may in turn be compared with the Seven Sages or apkallus of the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians, who ensured the correct functioning of heaven and earth, taught civilization to mankind, survived the great flood, and ascended to heaven... The idea of the constellation as Seven Sages or Seers may well have been current among the peoples of the Indus Valley Civilisation - elaborated from the Mesopotamian idea of the Seven apkallus; and this idea was adopted by the new migrators at an early stage in the development of the Indo-Aryan cult, along with such other astronomical features as the Nakṣatra system." (Ibid.)

A genetic relationship between the Indian "seven sages" and the Mesopotamian "seven wise men" appears likely to me, and worth of a detailed study. I can offer only a few observations here. Apkallu (or abgallu) is originally a Sumerian word meaning "wise man, expert". It has been borrowed into Akkadian as well, where it is used (1) as divine epithet of Ea - "the wise one among the gods" - and Marduk (the successor of Ea as the god of wisdom), and occasionally of other gods as well; (2) of mythological sages, especially of the seven antediluvian sages, and of Adapa, who was the exorcist among them; and (3) as a title of a priest, exorcist or diviner. The cuneiform texts refer to "an oral tradition of the /seven/ ancient sages from before the flood", after

which later lexical texts were written; and to "the seven sages of the apsû, the sacred purādu-fish, who, like their lord Ea, have been endowed with sublime wisdom". There are also references to apotropaic "seven figurines of the sages of e'ru-wood crowned with their appropriate crowns, dressed in their appropriate clothing..." (Cf. CAD I.2: 171-173 s.v. apkallu.)

According to the later, epic version of the well-known flood myth (Mahābhārata 3,185,1-54), the Seven sages were in the boat with Manu, the first man. In the older, Vedic version of the flood myth in ŚB 1,8,1, Manu is the sole survivor. In both cases, Manu's boat is saved from the flood by the great fish which Manu had first kept in a jar and then in a pond before taking it to the ocean. In the Ṛgveda, the "seven sacrificers" perform the first sacrifice together with Manu (cf. ṚS 10,63,7). Manu is a multiform of Yama, the first mortal, and of Varuṇa (cf. # 11); and Varuṇa, the god of waters, is connected with the boat in the Ṛgveda (cf. # 14).

Ea or Enki, the Sumerian god of wisdom, is the lord of the Mesopotamian "seven sages". He is also the god of the apsû, 'deep water, sea', the cosmic subterranean water (in some texts a synonym for nether world) which is the source and outlet of rivers and the place where fish live; this abode of Enki is represented by the basin of holy water in the temple (cf. CAD I.2: 194-197). At Eridu, Enki has been worshipped with fish-offerings ever since the fifth millennium B.C. In the art, Enki is depicted with streams of water running from his shoulders; there may be fish in these streams, and sometimes fish alone surround Enki as his attributes. In pictorial representations, Enki's servants have the body of a fish. (Cf. Parpola 1984: 190). In the above quoted cuneiform text the "seven sages" are called "purādu-fish".

I have earlier presented evidence for the Harappan cult of fish and of astral deities, as well as for the use of the pictogram 'fish' to express Dravidian mīn meaning both 'fish' and 'star' in the Indus inscriptions (cf. Parpola 1984). The combination "7 + fish" occurs once in the Indus inscriptions, in a seal from Harappa, with no other pictograms except these two

(cf. Vats 1940: II pl. 85.9). Reading these two words in Dravidian (DEDR nos. 910 and 4885), we get the Old Tamil name of Ursa Major, eḻu-mīn literally "constellation of seven stars" (attested in Naṟṟiṇai 231). In this context the parallellism of a "greatly shining fish" and the astral sages Vasiṣṭha and Agastya in Bṛhaddevatā's version of their birth myth is highly significant. Here a fish is expressly identified as a luminous object and placed side by side with sages connected with well-known stars.

Vasiṣṭha is chief among the seven sages associated with the seven stars of Ursa Major. Ṛgveda 7,33,7-13 gives a remarkable account of the birth of Vasiṣṭha and Agastya or Māna, the latter being well known in later Hindu mythology as the "pot-born" sage of the southern direction connected with the bright star Canopus. According to the Ṛgveda, they are the sons of Mitra and Varuṇa, who during a lengthy soma sacrifice emitted their seed into a sacrificial vessel; they are also mental sons of the apsaras Urvaśī. Bṛhaddevatā 149-155 explains that when the gods Mitra and Varuṇa saw the beautiful water nymph Urvaśī, they emitted seed. Falling on earth, in a sacrificial pot, and in water, the seed became respectively Vasiṣṭha, Agastya, and a "greatly shining fish" (matsyo mahādyutiḥ).

This myth makes at least one of the seven sages a son of Varuṇa, who emits seed on seeing a beautiful apsaras. In the beginning of this chapter, we saw that the moon was called Gandharva and a seedlayer, and that the apsarases are the mates of Gandharvas and associated with the lunar houses. The names of the individual Kṛttikā-stars are recorded in the ritual formulae of TS 4,4,5,b, KS 40,4 and MS 2,8,13: Ambā́ 'mother', Dulā́ (cf. dul- 'to swing') or (MS) Bulā́ (cf. bul- 'to submerge'), Nitatnī́ ('down-strecher': addressed to a herb used for fixing hair in AS 1,136,1), Abhráyantī 'raining', Megháyantī 'raining', Varṣáyantī 'raining' (MS stanáyantī 'thundering'), Cupuṇī́kā ('?' the word is known from this context only). These are said to be the names of the seven bricks to which they are addressed while the bricks are being deposited into the fire altar. This ritual is commented upon in TS 5,3,9 as follows: "By fire the gods went to the world

of heaven; they became yonder Kṛttikās; he for whom these are put down goes to the world of heaven, attains brilliance, and becomes a resplendent thing" (transl. Keith 1914: II, 426). In Viṣṇu-Smṛti 67,7, the same names (KS 40,4) are used when the householder offers seven balis to the bricks of his domestic fireplace. The ritual of the fire altar includes also offerings to the asterisms and their presiding deities. According to TB 3,1,4,1, the first of these consists of a sacrificial cake baked on eight potsherds, offered to Agni (the Fire) and the Kṛttikās with the formulae: **agnáye svấhā kṛ́ttikābhyaḥ svấhā ambấyai svấhā dulấyai svấhā nitatnyaí svấhābhráyantyai svấhā megháyantyai svấhā varṣáyantyai svấhā cupuṇī́kāyai svấhā.** At least three of these names are directly connected with rain. (Cf. Weber 1862: 301, 368, 294 n. 3.). This suggests that the Kṛttikās were understood as water nymphs (**apsaras**, from ap- 'water').

That the names of some stars of the Pleiades mean "raining" also suggests that the Pleiades were associated with the rainy season. The position of the Pleaides at the beginning of the nakṣatra calendar is undoubtedly due to the conjunction of the sun and the Pleiades at the vernal equinox when the calendar was compiled, around 2300 B.C. At that time the conjunction of the full moon ("the great seedlayer") and the Pleiades would have taken place at the autumnal equinox (about September 22). The great Vijaya-daśamī festival is celebrated on the tenth lunar day of the Āśvina month (Sept.-Oct.), preceded by the navarātri celebration of nine lunar days; before the astronomical difference due to the precession of the equinoxes was corrected, the month was Kārttika, i.e. the month in which the moon is full in the Kṛttikās. This festival takes place about the time the rains stop; it commemorates the Goddess' victory over the buffalo demon, whose connection with Varuṇa, the thundercloud and phallic worship has already been discussed (cf. # 7, 11, 17).

The following myth is related in TS 5,5,4,1-2 in connection with the "seedpouring" (**retaḥsic**) bricks that are to be put down into the fire-altar:"The waters were the wives of Varuṇa /the god of waters/. Agni longed for them, he had union with them; his seed fell away, it became this (earth); what second fell away

became yonder (sky);... in that he puts down two Virāj (bricks) he puts down these two (worlds). Now the seed which younder (sky) impregnates, finds support in this (earth), it is propagated, it becomes plants and shoots; them the fire eats. He who knows thus is propagated, and becomes an eater of food" (transl. Keith 1914: II, 443). Here the Pleiades are replaced by the waters, and they are the wives of Varuṇa. (Cf. also O'Flaherty 1973: 94.)

19. The "sky garment" of Ahura Mazdā

Having thus come back to Varuṇa, I would like to conclude this study by once more discussing the main theme, Varuṇa's "sky garment" and its Harappan origin. It is generally accepted that Varuṇa, the greatest Asura in the Ṛgveda, corresponds to the chief deity of the Avesta, Ahura Mazdā (cf. e.g. Gonda 1960: I, 74). Correspondances between the Ṛgveda and the Avesta have been taken to prove that the given data go back to a common Indo-Iranian period. This is reasonable enough, but the same cannot be said of the common practice of considering such correspondences as proofs of an Indo-European origin. It is clear that the Aryans coming to India over the passes of the Northwest have on their way crossed Northeastern Iran, and that part of them is likely to have remained there. What has not always been clearly understood is that neither Northwest India nor Northeastern Iran was a cultural vacuum. The excavations of Dashly in Bactria have shown that Harappan traits - such as the trefoil decoration - have survived here in the second millennium B.C. in contexts that point to the rule of Aryan speakers (cf. # 13). With the examination of the Avestan name of Ursa Major in # 18 I hope to have shown that even the Iranian textual sources may have preserved Harappan cultural heritage.

I have purposely delayed referring to an important passage in the Avesta until now, when the cases of Dashly and Avestan **haptō-iringa-** have already been dealt with. This passage provides a most explicit parallel to the Ṛgvedic references to Varuṇa's "sky garment" discussed in # 7, showing that stars are indeed

involved. The 13th or Farvardīn Yašt glorifies the Fravashis or ancestral spirits, who correspond to the pitaraḥ or 'fathers' of the Veda (residing in the realm of Yama/Varuṇa in the uppermost heaven, cf. above, # 11). In this Yašt (13,2-3), Ahura Mazdā says to Zarathuštra: "2. Through their /i.e. the Fravashis'/ brightness and glory, O Zarathuštra! I maintain that sky, there above, shining and seen afar, and encompassing this earth all around. 3. It /i.e. the sky/... is like a garment inlaid with stars, made of a heavenly substance, that Mazdā puts on, along with Mithra and Rashnu and Spenta-Armaiti, and on no side can the eye perceive the end of it" (transl. Darmesteter 1883: II, 180 f.).

The wording of the original text is quite unambiguous in its reference to the sky as as a garment decorated with stars: asmanəm... yim mazdå vaste vaŋhanəm stəhrpaēsaŋhəm mainyu.tāštəm. Avestan vaŋhana- 'garment' corresponds to Sanskrit vasana- 'id.', and the attribute stəhr-paēsah- 'decorated with stars' has a parallel in a Ṛgvedic phrase that recurs in three verses: ṚS 1,68,10d pipéśa nákam stṛ́bhir dámūnāḥ "He, the lord of the house (i.e. Agni) has decorated the vault of heaven with stars"; ṚS 6,49,3ab aruṣásya duhitárā vírūpe stṛ́bhir anyā́ pipiśé sū́ro anyā́ "the two daughters of the ruddy one have a different form: the one is decorated with stars, the other (with the rays) of the sun"; ṚS 6,49,12cd sá pispṛśati tanvì śrutásya stṛ́bhir ná nákam vacanásya vípaḥ "May he let the words of the inspired (poet) touch the body of him, the famous, (decorating it) like the vault of heaven with stars". (Cf. Bartholomae 1904: 1606, 1394.)

Another reference to Ahura Mazdā's "sky-garment" is in Yasna 9,26, where it is equated with the Zarathuštran religion. Zarathuštra says to Haoma (= Soma of the Veda): "Forth hath Mazdā borne to thee, the star-bespangled girdle, the spirit-made (aiwyå̄ŋhanəm stəhrpaēsaŋhəm mainyu.tāštəm), the ancient one, the Mazdayasnian Faith" (transl. Mills 1887: III, 238); cf. also Yašt 10,90. (Cf. Bartholomae 1904: 1606, 1394.) In Vīdēvdāt 18, 19, aiwyå̄ŋhana is the girdle which the householder must put on his clothes as the first thing in the morning, immediately before washing the hands and bringing wood unto the sacred fire. There

can be no doubt about its identity with the sacred girdle called kūstīk in Sassanian times, and kustī by the modern Parsis (cf. Widengren 1965: 352). Manušcīhr, who lived in the 9th century A.D., in question 38 of his Dātistān-i dēnīk "considers the manifold symbolism of the sacred girdle of the Mazdaeans, the kūstīk, symbolizing at the same time the bondage of man (banda-kīh) in relation to Ohrmazd and the distinction between the upper and lower parts of the body; the kūstīk has as a celestial archetype the Milky Way and the Dēn /'faith, religion'/ itself. The symbolism of its composition is dealt with in the next question and also the offences connected with it, such as walking without the kūstīk and talking while eating" (Menasce 1975: 548). The kustī girdle consists of 72 threads corresponding to the 72 chapters of the Yasna; they are divided into three cords of 24 threads each, which recall the 24 sections of the Visprat (cf. Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 115). This sacred girdle is given to a young Parsi as one of the foremost symbols of his religion in an initiation ceremony reminiscent of the Brahmanical initiation at which the youth is invested with the sacred thread (cf. ibid. 114). According to Bartholomae (1904: 98), Avestan aiwyåŋhana- denotes not only 'girdle' but also 'garment': thus, in Vičarkart-i dēnīk 12 it should refer to the undergarment given to the dead. The sacred thread of the Brahmanical tradition, which is to be worn during the sacrificial ritual, has likewise developed from an earlier garment - originally the tārpya garment used also in funerals (cf. above, # 8; 10; 12). So it seems that the Harappan "priest-king's" garment was inherited as his "sky garment" by the early Indo-Iranian deity Varuṇa/Ahura Mazdā, and that it still survives in the sacred thread of the Veda and in the sacred girdle of Zoroastrianism.

20. Summary

The gist. The Near Eastern parallels (figs. 10-14) adduced by Ernest Mackay (1931) and A. Leo Oppenheim (1949) make it likely that the "trefoil" patterns decorating the robe of the "priest-king" statue from Mohenjo-daro (fig. 1) have had an astral significance, and that they represent appliqué work. In Mesopotamia, decorations like golden stars and disks were sewn in the garments of gods or divine kings. In the cuneiform texts, such expensive cloths are called "sky garment"; this term also refers to rain clouds.

A garment matching this description, called **tārpya**, is found in the Vedic ritual, where it clearly represents the garment of the divine king Varuṇa. In the Ṛgveda and the Mahābhārata, Varuṇa wears a celestial dress that symbolizes the rain clouds, or the star-decorated night sky. In the Avesta, Varuṇa's counterpart Ahura Mazdā is explicitly said to put on the sky as his star-spangled garment. The tārpya garment is said to be sewn with images of **dhiṣṇyas**. In the Veda, the word **dhiṣṇya** denotes 'ritual fireplaces', especially those of seven sacrificial priests, and in later Sanskrit literature it also means 'stars'. Both meanings merge in texts where the stars are explained to be the fireplaces (**dhiṣṇya**) of pious ancient sacrificers (such as the "Seven sages" of Ursa Major), who have attained the heavenly world and there stand shining on their hearths.

This evidence corroborates the hypotheses made on the basis of the Mesopotamian parallels, and proves the existence of a remarkable continuity in Indian religion from Harappan to Vedic times. As they seemed to provide important clues to the Harappan religion, the trefoil pattern, the tārpya garment and the dhiṣṇya fireplaces have been studied in detail. All share astral and procreative symbolism. It seems necessary to postulate a Harappan origin for the fire cult and the astral connections of the dhiṣṇya hearths. The liṅga cult, too, originally appears to have been associated with ritual fireplaces (identified with the womb) and the Seven sages. Interestingly, the Seven sages also have a counterpart in the early Mesopotamian religion.

The starting point: Astral symbolism of the trefoils. The present study stems from the wish to check the main results of previous work on the Indus script: the fish pictograms of the Harappan inscriptions were interpreted to represent deities through their astral symbols, based on the homonymy between the Proto-Dravidian words mīn 'fish' and mīn 'star' (Parpola 1975). The Harappan "priest-king's" robe (fig. 1) seemed worth closer scrutiny, because it had long been suspected to convey stellar symbolism: its trefoil decorations are similar to trefoils on Near Eastern "bulls of heaven" (fig. 10, 12) and on the Egyptian cow representing the mother goddess Hathor as Lady of Heaven (fig. 13).

The deity represented by the "priest-king" statue. An internal analysis of the "priest-king" statue (fig. 1) and its comparison with Harappan parallels (including those of fig. 2 and 3) suggests that it represented a seated deity with a changeable, elaborate headdress (cf. also During Caspers 1976). It is likely that this deity was the buffalo-horned "Proto-Śiva", which Hiltebeitel (1978) rightly has identified as "Proto-Mahiṣa".

In an earlier paper (Parpola 1984), I have suggested some new clues for understanding the buffalo-horned "Proto-Śiva" of the Harappan pantheon. In Accadian glyptics of the "contest theme", the water-buffalo is substituted for the earlier bull. Because this shift clearly was due to Harappan influence, and because the Harappan iconography of "Proto-Śiva" (especially his "yogic posture") was strongly influenced by earlier Proto-Elamite art, the Harappan water buffalo probably shared the symbolism of the bull in the dualistic "contest" scenes of the Proto-Elamite seals and vases. Since the bull and lion alternately win and loose in Proto-Elamite art (fig. 4), they are likely to depict night and day and other antithetic and cyclical forces of nature, like water and fire, darkness and light, death and life. This is confirmed by special epithets: in the famous Khafaje vase, the bull-god is connected with streams of water, the sickle of moon, and the sitting posture opposed to the standing posture associated with the lion. The lion, on the other hand, is linked with the sun through its golden colour, hair and arrows.

The "sky garment" in Mesopotamia. The statues of Mesopotamian gods and (divine) kings wore "sky garments" richly decorated with golden ornaments (fig. 14). Some forms of these ornaments are expressly called "stars" in cuneiform texts dealing with the manufacture and repair of these dresses. In the texts, the "sky garment" stood not only for the star-spangled night sky but also for the dark rain-clouds covering the sky. (Oppenheim 1949.)

The "sky garment" of Varuṇa. Both of these meanings, star-decorated night and rainclouds, are included in the symbolism of the dress which, according to the earliest Indian texts, was worn by Varuṇa, the divine king par excellence (whose principal multi-forms include Yama and Prajāpati in the Veda, and later Brahmā, Śiva and Mahiṣa). Varuṇa is the god of waters, of the night sky, of death and of creation; moreover, Varuṇa (Yama) is associated with the buffalo, and thus in all respects matches well the above assumed functions of the buffalo-horned "Proto-Śiva".

The tārpya garment of the Vedic ritual. In Vedic ritual, Varuṇa's dress is represented by the tārpya garment, the various uses of which I have examined in detail. It is put on and taken off especially in royal rituals - including the king's unction, called "Varuṇa's sacrifice" - and in death rites, which transport the deceased to the realm of Varuṇa/Yama in the highest heavens. The manufacture of the tārpya garment had already become unclear even to the ancient ritualists. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that the tārpya garment was sewn with appliqué work, like the Mesopotamian "sky garments".

The decorations of the tārpya garment: Symbols of ritual fire-places and of stars. The images sewn into the tārpya garment relate to the sacrifice, and are in Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra 22,16,3 particularized to represent **dhiṣṇyas** . In Vedic texts, this word primarily denotes a 'fireplace', more particularly the 'fireplace of seven priests', while in later literature it also means 'star'. The two meanings are linked by the Vedic idea that the stars are ancient pious sacrificers, standing in the sky upon

their sacrificial fires (cf. Mahābhārata 3,43,26 ff. with e.g. Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 1,8,6). Chief among these heavenly sacrificers are the Seven sages of Ursa major, the ancestors of the Brahmanical clans.

The tārpya garment as an embryonic cover: bath and rebirth. Both the tārpya garment and the fireplaces (with whose images the tārpya garment was decorated) in the Vedic texts over and over again are said to symbolize the womb and embryonic covers. Varuṇa himself is identified with the womb. During a sacrificial ritual, the performer was, from his initiation to the final bath, symbolically in the womb. When the rite was finished, he was reborn out of it, and in the final bath - expressly connected with Varuṇa - this "newborn" discarded the embryonic covers, the garment he had been using during the sacrifice, also the tārpya garment. Leaving that old (usually black) garment in the waters, out of which he emerged, the performer put on new clothes. Those discarded clothes symbolized "Varuṇa's noose", the bond of death, out of which he was released. This is compared to the "rebirth" of a snake that sloughs off its old skin, and in the Ṛgveda to the sun's change from its black garment of the night to the white of the day. This symbolism also lies behind the habitual morning bath of the present-day Hindus. There is no reason to oppose the idea that why this important ritual should not derive from the Harappan religion, in which bathing is known to have had a prominent place.

The tārpya garment and the heavenly cow. In the ancient Near East, the trefoil pattern decorated the backs of "heavenly bulls" (fig. 10, 12). Moreover, hairwhorls on animals were represented in art as stars, and so were hairpits on the chest of anthropomorphic deities (fig. 14.2). Similar conceptions have prevailed in ancient India. In the Veda, the hairpits of the creator god are equated with the stars, and so are the meshes of the woven garment of consecration - identified with the skin of a cow.

The tārpya garment decorated with the image of dhiṣṇyas is thrown over the 1000th cow in the three-day sacrifice of Garga.

By means of that 1000th cow, the sacrificer reaches heaven, which is said to be as far from the earth as 1000 cows put one on the top of the other. The tārpya garment with its dhiṣṇya decorations thus comes to correspond to the vault of heaven. In this connection, stars and rainclouds (assumed to be associated with Varuṇa's "sky garment") are specified to be the main attributes of the sky.

The tārpya-garment by its connection with the three-day sacrifice, as well as with the "three-layered" sacrifice, where it is to be given in triplicate, is connected with the number three. This is the number symbolized by the trefoils that appear on the Harappan "priest-king's" garment.

Trefoil decoration in Bactria: The Dāsas as mediators of Harappan traditions to the Veda. Even the dhiṣṇya decorations of the tārpya garment thrown over the back of the 1000th cow could have been trefoils, like the decorations of the Harappan "priest-king's" robe and the Mesopotamian "bulls of heaven". This is suggested by the combination of trefoils and bulls in an alabaster mosaic from the "palace" of Dashly-3 in northern Afghanistan ca. 1500 B.C. This bronze-age Bactrian culture is post-Harappan, but has clearly inherited the trefoil motif from the Harappans. (Sarianidi 1977; 1979.)

The fortified cult place of Dashly-3, with sacred fires in the centre, has been preserved in their "pagan" religion by the local Kafirs of Nuristan to the present day: such cultic forts are associated with the worship of ancestors and with the goddess Dhiṣaṇā. (Jettmar 1981.)

The Kafir languages are the only post-Vedic Indo-Aryan languages, which have preserved alive the name of the goddess Dhiṣaṇā, who in the Veda is associated with the dhiṣṇya fireplaces. Moreover, the chief deity of the Kafir pantheon is Imrå, i.e. Yama-rāja, "king Yama". There are in addition other reasons to assume that the bearers of the Bactrian and other Hissar III - related cultures were Dāsas, Aryan speakers who had come to Northeastern Iran and Northwestern India before the Ṛgvedic Aryans, and who worshipped Asuras, especially Varuṇa/Yama.

The red trefoil and the traditional Indian fireplace. In the Indus civilization, the trefoil pattern is always associated with red (cf. Mackay 1938: I, 227 f.), the colour of fire. This is an important point supporting the comparison of the trefoils of the "priest-king's" garment with the Vedic dhiṣṇyas, which are circular or square fireplaces. The combination of three circles into a trefoil is not in disagreement with this interpretation, for the most common form of fireplace in the Indian subcontinent consists of three stones arranged in a triangle, a stable support for a cooking vessel; sometimes these three stones are surrounded by a mud wall. Such a triangular fireplace has been found in Late Harappan Chanhujo-daro (fig. 20).

Moreover, the main sacred fires of the śrauta ritual are three in number, and these gārhapatya, āhavanīya and dakṣiṇāgni hearths form a triangle: they represent the womb from which the pious sacrificer is to be reborn to the world of heaven at his death. At the funeral the body of the sacrificer was placed at their centre and then covered with the tārpya garment and sacrificial implements.

The trefoil in Mesopotamia: Constellation of Taurus? The trefoil pattern is much older in Mesopotamia than in the Indus valley, and there the context ("bulls of heaven") suggests an astral meaning. In the archaic Sumerian script, the word for 'constellation' is written with a pictogram consisting of three star-images, which in classical Sumerian times was arranged into a triangle. This suggested that the trefoil and the pictogram could have denoted a particular three-starred asterism - in Mesopotamia perhaps the "Jaw" of the Heavenly Bull (Taurus).

If the Harappan trefoil also denoted a particular asterism, it might be possible to identify it: perhaps the original Dravidian name would be even better than the somewhat obscure Sanskrit word **dhiṣṇya**, combining the two meanings that seem to be involved: 'fireplace' and 'star'.

The "three stars" of the Indus script. Written in the Indus script, "three stars" would have been expressed by means of the

combination "3 + fish" = Dravidian mu-m-mīn, at once 'three fishes' and 'three stars'. The combination occurs many times in Indus inscriptions, and the Dravidian compound is attested to in Old Tamil as the name of the asterism Mṛgaśīrṣa. But this constellation has not been recorded as sacred to Varuṇa in the Vedic texts, while one Harappan amulet from Mohenjo-daro (fig. 25) where the combination "3 + fish" occurs, suggests its association with Varuṇa: the other sides contain the images of an alligator and a ship, both of which are associated specifically with Varuṇa, the god of waters. The early Indian nakṣatra calendar comprises several groups of three stars, and the Tamil lexicographer might easily have mixed them, especially as Old Tamil star names were at his time being replaced by Indo-Aryan names.

Suggested eye symbolism of the trefoil. Also the compound "eye + eye", following "3 + fish" on this amulet (fig. 25), points to Varuṇa: it can be read in Dravidian as kaṇ-kāṇi, which in Tamil means 'overseer'. This reminds us of the many epithets of Varuṇa mentioning his eyes and his supervision as the just ruler. Since the "eye" pictogram is identical with the dot-in-a-circle in Harappan fish-eyes and in the patterns of the "priest-king's" robe, it is suggested that the trefoil may also have symbolized "three eyes".

The red colour of the trefoils would then mean anger. Three red eyes are indeed the standard iconographic attribute of the demoniac form of Śiva - Bhairava - depicted as an enraged buffalo (fig. 15). The very same form is shared by Yama, the god of death (fig. 16). The buffalo is associated with Varuṇa, too, and seems to have been his original animal. In the Vedic horse sacrifice, the chief victim (the horse) belongs to Varuṇa: it appears that the Aryans have in this sacrifice replaced the original buffalo (Sanskrit mahiṣa) with the horse, for the horse is associated with waters (Varuṇa's realm), which better suit the water buffalo, and because the mate of the horse, the queen, is called mahiṣī, literally, 'water buffalo cow'.

Harappan necklaces with red trefoils carved in their beads (fig. 5) could be predecessors of the later rosaries of "Rudra's

tears" as well as of later "asterism-necklaces".

Apabharaṇī, the asterism of Yama. We were, then, looking for the star par excellence of Varuṇa. Among the three-starred asterisms there is one that all sources ascribe to Yama (a multiform of Varuṇa): it is the last constellation of the calendrical cycle, called in Sanskrit **apa-bharaṇī**. It is associated by name and function with the final **ava-bhṛtha** bath that "carries away" sin and effects rebirth. The avabhṛtha bath is sacred to Varuṇa.

The apabharaṇī asterism, forming a triangle in the sky, is traditionally represented by the image of "vulva/womb" in north India (Brahmanical and Śvetāmbara Jaina traditions) but in south India (Digambara Jaina and Tamil traditions) by the image of "fireplace consisting of three cooking-stones". These symbols are not ascribed to any other asterism. (Cf. Kirfel 1920: 138 f., 280-2.)

The Dravidian linguistic background. Both meanings associated with the Apabharaṇī asterism are merged in the word used in this connection in the Digambara tradition, **cullī**. This is the most common word for 'fireplace, hearth' in Indo-Aryan (Turner 1966: no. 4879) as well as in Dravidian languages (Burrow and Emeneau 1984: no. 2857) , and there can be little doubt of its Dravidian etymology. In Dravidian, there is a homonym meaning 'pregnancy' (ibid. no. 2733). This Dravidian pun can explain the importance given to the "womb" symbolism of the fireplace in India.

Sacrifice of the heavenly bull. In Mesopotamia, the trefoil may have been primarily associated with the asterism of the "heavenly bull". In early neolithic times the conjunction of Taurus with the sun at the vernal equinox may have marked the beginning of the year. It was probably in connection with the new-year festival that the bull-sacrifice, widely attested to in the ancient Near East and Eastern Mediterranean, was performed.

This bull-slaughter has a counterpart in India in the royal rituals of horse-sacrifice (originally: water-buffalo sacrifice) and the almost identical human sacrifice. These Vedic rituals are

descended from the same Harappan prototype as the Hindu sacrifices of men and buffaloes to the goddess of war, Durgā. (Parpola 1983; 1984.)

Sacrifice of man in the cult of the Goddess and the Veda. Not only pious fire-worshippers but also brave warriors and victims of human sacrifices in India are believed to attain heaven on their death, and to be seen in the sky as stars. Interestingly, heads of human victims or warriors have been used as cooking-stones in the Hindu rituals to the goddess.

In the Vedic ritual, the severed head of the victim symbolized the sun, while the headless trunk stood for the moon (or night-sun). The heated pravargya pot, called "Great Hero" (**mahāvīra**) and "the head of Makha (i.e. warrior? cf. Dravidian **makan** 'son, warrior')" was placed on a throne and called "emperor". This may be compared to a Harappan seal which shows a throne with the human head of a warrior (recognized from its "double-bun" hair-style) in front of a deity inside a sacred fig tree (fig. 33). In the Jātakas human sacrifices are mentioned as offers to fig trees for the sake of securing victory. The scene of the Indus seal comprises even seven or six (cf. fig. 34) anthropomorphic figures that can be identified as female from their pig-tail plait of hair. They represent the Kṛttikās or Pleiades, the "mothers" of the Hindu war-god.

In the Vedic cult, the dying victim represented the sacrificing king and his divine counterpart, king Varuṇa: Varuṇa was the primeval victim, the slaughtered cosmic man or the slaughtered sky-buffalo, the thundercloud. The victim at his death fertilizes the queen, the impersonator of Goddess Earth.

The sacrificial stake and the liṅga. The victim-impregnator (god Varuṇa, "Proto-Śiva") was identified with the sacrificial stake, to which he was bound then killed. Vedic texts identify the sacrificial stake with the thunderbolt, which is not only a deadly weapon, but also the phallus of the thundergod. The sacrificial stake was the means of attaining heaven, and the phallus likewise represents the gate through which man in the form of

his own seed transcends existence. In the South Indian worship of the Goddess, the sacrificial post represents the husband of Māriyamman̲. It is suggested that in the period separating the Indus civilization from the historical liṅga statues made of stone and from the originally related Aśokan pillars, both realistically and abstractly shaped liṅga pillars and sacrificial posts were made of wood.

The trefoil pattern and the bilva leaves used in the cult of liṅga and yoni. In the Indus civilization, cultic phalli made of wood seem to have been placed on stone stands that represented the vulva or womb. They seem to have been worshipped with water mixed with the trefoiled leaves of the bilva tree, as in later Hinduism (fig. 29): the trefoils carved on one such Harappan yoni-stone (fig. 10) can most naturally be interpreted to represent bilva leaves. In the Veda, bilva is identified with jyotis 'light, star, semen'; the Dravidian etymon from which the Sanskrit word bilva has been borrowed is homonymous with the word meaning both 'star, planet Venus' and 'semen'. Bilva, therefore, seems to stand for Śiva's "seed", which he is said to have emerged from his phallus in the form of the planet Venus (the "star" par excellence).

Liṅga cult and the seven fireplaces of Kalibangan. The womb-symbolism of the fireplace in the Veda gives a natural explanation to the fiery red colour of the Harappan yoni-stone decorated with trefoils (fig. 10). At the same time this womb-symbolism of the fireplace suggests that the stone stelae of the seven cultic fireplaces in the citadel of Kalibangan (fig. 31) are phalli. The names and legends connected with the dhiṣṇya hearths - represented by the decorations of the tārpya garment - associate them with the Seven sages, who occupy a central position in the Indian tradition as the ancestors of all priestly clans. They are identified with the seven stars of Ursa Major, which the Avestan tradition calls "seven liṅgas" - an association matching the Indian myths which associate the Seven sages with the origin of the liṅga cult. These myths also refer to Śiva's castrated liṅga

as being on fire, a notion fitting in not only with the general idea of sexual heat but also with the ancient practice of putting the uprooted sacrificial stake into the yoni of the fireplace.

A new etymology suited to this Harappan derivation of the phallic cult derives the central term liṅga from the Proto-Dravidian root *ning- 'to be(come) erect'.

The Seven sages in India and Mesopotamia. The notion of Seven sages is shared by early India and ancient Mesopotamia. There are several other common features suggesting that this is no mere coincidence. In the Veda, the Seven sages - already associated with the stars of Ursa Major - took part as the officiating priests in the first sacrifice, which created the world (the world is also said to have come into being from the cut-off limbs of the primeval man, i.e. Varuṇa-Prajāpati). In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the Seven sages are the mind-born sons of Brahmā, the creator god, and survive the flood together with the first man, Manu. In Mesopotamia, the Seven sages likewise survived the flood and ascended to heaven. Moreover, they are identified with sacred fish, and are servants of Enki or Ea, the god of deep waters and wisdom. Enki seems to be the Sumerian counterpart of the Harappan Proto-Śiva and the Vedic Varuṇa: all have fish as their attribute (cf. Parpola 1984). In the Vedic tradition, two of the Seven sages and "a greatly shining fish" were born of the seed of Mitra and Varuṇa. The Dravidian name of Ursa Major is eḻu-mīn '7 stars' and '7 fish', attested to in the Indus script by a seal containing nothing but the pictograms "7 + fish".

The origins of the nakṣatra calendar. It seems that the sacred fires of the Veda were originally established especially under the asterism of Agni 'fire', the Kṛttikās, i.e. the Pleiades which start the nakṣatra calendar and mark the new year. The sun was in conjunction with the Pleiades at the vernal equinox around 2300 B.C., a date which is also best in agreement with the distribution of the marking stars of the nakṣatra calendar. This astronomical dating of the nakṣatra calendar harmonizes with the

hypothesis that the urbanized Indus civilization needed a luni-solar calendar, and with the evidence that the Indus script and Harappan art have provided for an astral religion. The present study has provided new evidence supporting these theses. Especially striking is the intimate connection between the nakṣatra calendar and the Kṛttikās and the Seven sages, who are wives and husbands. These mythical figures play a most prominent role in those very myths that can be traced back to the Indus seals and fireplaces, and are central in the liṅga cult and Śākta Tantrism - those aspects of the Indian religions that have long been considered most "non-Aryan" in their nature.

Conclusion. The discovery of the "priest-king" at Mohenjo-daro was a lucky event, for without this statue and its trefoil-decorated garment it would have been impossible to focus the search for Harappan survivals in Vedic religion on items like the tārpya garment and the dhiṣṇya fires, let alone to project their origin and symbolism to Harappan times. Now this small stone bust fixes a web of symbols, ideas and words in the third millennium B.C. Although I think that, on the whole, such a reconstruction is not far-fetched, some allowance must be made for historical development. For example, the ideas of a heavenly rebirth may have originally been connected with fire offerings performed by the sacrificer while alive, but seem to have been transferred to the funeral ceremonies, too, when cremation by fire became fashionable in Late Harappan times.

This study, then, gives new evidence for the Harappan and Dravidian origin of many conceptions and cultic practices that are central in later Indian religions, not only in Śaivism and Śākta Tantrism, but in the Vedic ritual, too. These new footholds should make it possible to climb further on the precarious but fascinating mountain of protohistorical reconstruction. This applies also to the Indian - Mesopotamian connections in the field of religion that have, so far, been little investigated; the recent study by Golzio (1981) is a stimulating exception. The role of the Dāsas as mediators between Harappan and historical times is also gradually becoming clearer: I have tried to show

that the Dāsas, as speakers of an early Aryan language, can now more confidently be identified with the bearers of the Hissar III -related bronze age culture in northeastern Iran, Bactria and northwestern India. Vedic as well as Avestan sources seem to have preserved data relating to the Dāsa culture.

For quite some time a steady stream of consistent solutions to a number of problems posed by that great puzzle, the Indus civilization, has been appearing. Isolated pieces have gradually come together. They form a complex web, and seem to fit together too well for their coherence to be the result only of coincidence. Given the present state of research and source material, it is difficult to offer other kinds of proof than such interlocking explanations.

This study was undertaken with historical aims, but the results might be of interest in some other respects, too. For example, I trust that the attempts at a relatively comprehensive analysis of the symbolism of the trefoil motif and the tārpya garment confirm the view that religious symbols are a highly condensed means of communication, which in different contexts can assume several different meanings (cf. Turner 1967: 19ff.).

21. Addenda

The paper by Jarrige and Hasan (in press) read at the 8th International Conference of South Asian Archaeology in July, 1985, gave an account of the **discoveries made in March 1985 at Quetta** by builders of a hospital. In addition to a golden goblet or 3 cm high golden bulls used for ornamental purposes, the interesting finds included a number of **trefoils made of ivory** (some 5 to 10 cm in diameter?). These were not solid pieces, but empty in the middle, that is, they presented the trefoils in outline. Dr Jarrige could not tell whether these ivory trefoils had small holes in them (which would have indicated that the trefoils were sewn unto a garment) or not (in which case the trefoils are likely to be inlay decorations of a wooden statue, possibly of the Indus "priest-king" dressed in a "sky garment", or of a "Bull of heaven").

According to Dr Jarrige, the new finds from Quetta are comparable to those excavated earlier at the graveyard of Sibri near Mehrgarh, at Dashly and Sapalli in Northern Afghanistan, and at Hissar III in Northeastern Iran. The treasure of Quetta thus confirms that immigrants from northeast Iran and Bactria arrived at Baluchistan and Sind at the end of the third millennium and adopted a number of cultural traits from the Indus civilization. In particular the finds from Quetta prove the transmission of the trefoil symbol and its ideology from the Indus civilization to the succeeding Late Harappan phase of the Indus valley, dominated by these immigrants who in all likelihood are the earliest Aryan speakers of the Indian subcontinent. These mediators between Harappan and later traditions seem to be identifiable with the Dāsas, the earlier inhabitants of Bactria and Northwest India, against whom the Vedic Aryans had to fight on their later arrival in these regions (cf. p. 13, 75-78).

At the same conference, Alexandra Ardeleanu-Jansen (in press) discussed a previously unpublished steatite fragment excavated in 1925-26 at Mohenjo-daro, south of the Stūpa complex (at square 25JJ, 3' below surface). This fragment (exc. no. Sd 1767), now in the reserve collection of the site museum at Mohenjo-daro, represents an **animal decorated all over with trefoils**, with some red pigment still visible inside the trefoils. (See photographs kindly placed at my disposal by Mrs Ardeleanu-Jansen in fig. 35.) Though the head and feet are missing, the animal may according to Ardeleanu-Jansen be identified as a bull, since the space on the underside with holes for attaching separate sexual organs is too narrow for udders but sufficient for testicles and penis.

Here, then, we have a Mature Harappan statuette of a "Bull of Heaven", which supplies the missing link between the Neo-Sumerian "Bulls of Heaven" (p. 27 & fig. 12) and the trefoil-decorated bull in the alabaster mosaic of Dashly-3 (p. 75f & fig. 21), both of which were supposed to be inspired by Harappan models. The 1000th cow of the Vedic ritual, bearing a dhiṣṇya-decorated garment on its back, may now be traced back to a prototype closer at hand. An interesting detail of this Harappan bull, to which Mrs Ardeleanu-Jansen drew attention, is the clearly intentional

inclusion of the anus inside one of the trefoils. Taking into consideration the equation of anus and vulva in many archaic cultures, this detail seems to support the womb symbolism suggested for the trefoil motif in this book on the basis of the parallel supplied by the Vedic **dhiṣṇya**.

Eisler's two-volume work (1910), to which Professor Metzler kindly drew my attention, is a rich and thorough examination of "the two well-known, but so far not fully understood and appreciated, biblical comparisons of the **starry sky**, spread like a **mantle** by God, and hanging up like a **tent**" (Eisler 1910: I, v, translated). It deals with the meaning and manifestation of these concepts in the old world up to mediaeval times, to the extent allowed by the sources at that time (when Indus civilization, among other things, had not yet been discovered). Here I quote a few particularly relevant points only.

In explanation of what is meant by the Akkadian expression "sky garment" (**nalbaš šamê**, cf. above, p. 35), Eisler (1910: I, 92f) refers to a most telling passage in the 40th chapter of the Dionysiaca, the remarkable Greek epic on the deeds of the god Dionysos, written in the 5th century A.D. by Nonnos from Panopolis in Egypt. In the Syro-Phoenician city of Tyrus, Dionysos "went revelling to the temple of the Starclad and there called loudly upon the leader of the stars in mystic words: 'Starclad Herakles...'" (40, 367-369, transl. Rouse 1963: III, 181). A long hymn follows, which ends as follows (40,408-410): "'... be thou called the Starclad, since by night starry mantles illuminate the sky (408f... **Astrokhítōn dè phatízesai - ennúkhioi gàr / ouranòn asteróentes epaugázousin khitõnes**) - O hear my voice graciously with friendly ears!'" The text continues (40,411ff) with a description of the cult image of this deity, **Bēl astrokhítōn**, who has been identified as Melkart (Rose in Rouse et al. 1963: III, 181, n. a): "Such was the hymn of Dionysos. Suddenly in form divine the Starclad flashed upon him in that dedicated temple. The fiery eyes of his countenance shot forth a rosy light, and the shining god, clad in a patterned robe like the sky, and image of the universe (416 **poíkilon heĩma phérōn, túpon aítheros, eíkona kósmou**)..." (transl. ibid. 183).

Eisler (ibid. 100f), too, sees a sky garment in the Ṛgvedic references to **Varuṇa's dress**; though many of the references given by him in this connection are irrelevant, a valuable addition to those cited earlier in this book (p. 40f, 94f) is ṚS 8,41,10ab where Varuṇa is said to have made the white ones and the black ones (i.e. the days and nights, cf. ṚS 1,73,7) as overcloths or mantles for himself in accordance with his laws (**yáḥ śvetấṁ ádhinirṇijaś cakré kṛṣṇấṁ ánu vratấ**) (in Mahābhārata 12, 212, 46 Time, Kāla, is said to be clothed in days and nights, **ahorātrābhisaṃvṛtam**; cf. Eisler 1910: II, 505). Another Ṛgvedic reference, not mentioned by Eisler, speaks of Varuṇa proverbially as the Asura putting on the (festal) garment (ṚS 8,19,23d **ásura iva nirṇíjam**). This phrase links Varuṇa's clothing more closely with Ahura Mazda's star-spangled garment and the star-spangled girdle (cf. above, p. 141f), which are also discussed by Eisler (1910: I, 93-95).

I have quoted above (p. 25, 105) Ernest Mackay's contention that "the **liṅgas** of modern India are invariably made of stone", never of wood. This categorical statement can be invalidated by citing one sufficiently reliable case to the contrary. George Weston Briggs, an accurate observer and reporter, visited the seat of the Satnāth sect of the Kānphaṭa Yogīs in the city of Purī (Jagannāth Purī) in Orissa in November, 1924; in his description of this **gaddi**, he writes: "There are a few samādhs /burial tombs of Yogīs/, one with a long wooden liṅga over it." (Briggs 1938: 124) In pl. XI of his book, Briggs reproduces a photograph of this tomb, and here, too, he specifically states, "The **Liṅga** is of wood." In this case there cannot be any doubt about the correctness of Briggs' identification of this wooden pillar as Śiva-liṅga, not only because its phallic shape is rather naturalistic, but also because it is normal for the tombs of the Yogīs to be "surmounted with the **yoni-liṅga**" (Briggs 1938: 40; cf. also 81, 85, 88, 115).

Recent excavations at Vagad, a rural Harappan settlement in Gujarat, have produced some evidence that seems relevant to one of the several interpretations proposed in this study for the Harappan sacred motif of red trefoil: one of the central meanings

of this symbol appears to be that of fireplace, primarily the traditional Indian fireplace made of three stones (p. 56, 84ff), which in the Vedic ritual appears to be symbolized by the three sacred fires (p. 60ff). At Vagad, "within a slightly raised mud platform on the floor level of period IA", **three "circular clay-lined fire-pits...** with saggering base were dug in the north, south and western portions of the trench, their diameters being 1 m, 1.45 m and 1.30 m respectively. They were **arranged in a triangular form** at an approximate distance of about 90 cm between the two. The fourth one, cylindrical in shape, having a diameter of 40 cms. was placed a little inside between the southern and western pits. All of them were internally neatly plastered with cow-dung paste mixed with clay. These pits contained ash, possibly of cow-dung cakes. In the absence of bone or any kind of industrial material, these fire pits appear to have been used for some kind of ritualistic purpose" (Sonawane & Mehta 1985: 40, with emphasis added by me, A.P.). The excavators compare these fireplaces with those of the Vedic ritual /though the three sacred fires partly have a different shape and orientation/ as well as with the fire altars discovered not only at the Harappan towns of Lothal and Kalibangan, but also at the chalcolithic sites of Navdatoli and Dangwada (Ujjain).

On p. 88 it was suggested that a pun peculiar to Dravidian languages alone may be responsible for the equation of the fireplace with the womb. However, though this may have been a contributing factor, I have now become convinced that the idea itself is archetypal, for it is also found in Africa, among the Mbuti living in the Ituri Forest of northeastern Zaïre. The Mbuti liken the womb to fire "not only because it is warm, but because it has the power of transformation. Just as fire transforms inedible food into edible food, so does the womb/fire transform spiritual life into physical life" (Turnbull 1985: 45).

In India, the womb symbolism of the fireplace is not restricted to the Veda, but is found also in the present-day folk-religion of South India. "On the road leading up to the temple /of Tirupati/, small stones heaped up in the form of a hearth... may be seen. These are the work of virgins... and the

heaping up of stones is done with a view to ensuring the birth of children to them. If the girls revisit the hill after marriage and the birth of children, they... disarrange one of the hearths" (Crooke 1921: 346a).

In the Tamil literature **Paraṇi** = Sanskrit **(Apa-)Bharaṇī** is the asterism of not only Yama (cf. above, p. 84ff, 91ff), but also of Kālī. "A commentary on Tolkāppiyam states that it was a tradition to offer **kūḻ**, i.e. boiled soup & **tuṇaṅgai** dance to Kāḷi on the Bharaṇi day... As Kāḷi is the giver of victory in battles, special offerings made to her at the victorious battle field came to be called **Paraṇi**" (Nagaswamy 1982: 22).

Kālī 'the black lady' is the Hindu goddess of destruction and as such the female counterpart of Kāla 'the black god', the god of death and destruction, a synonym for Yama or Bhairava. The Sanskrit word **kā́la** 'black' (see Turner 1966: no. 3083 for its counterparts in other Indo-Aryan languages) is first attested in Pāṇini's grammar (5,4,33) and the epics (and possibly earlier in VS 24,35, where **kā́lakā** f. is attested in the sense of 'a kind of bird'), and is generally admitted to be of Dravidian origin (cf. DEDR 1494, Tamil **kāḻ** 'blackness', etc.; Mayrhofer 1956: I,203); in one Dravidian language the etymon is recognized in a word meaning 'a dark-skinned buffalo' (Tulu **kāḻe**, which is to be compared further with DEDR 1502 Tamil **kāḷai** 'steer, bull, ox', etc.). Thus Kāla probably represents one of the original Dravidian names of the Harappan "Proto-Śiva", the deity later manifesting himself in the Indo-Aryan tradition under such names as Varuṇa, Yama, Bhairava, Śiva and Mahiṣa Asura. In Sanskrit there is a homonym, **kāla** 'time', the meaning of which would seem to fit the god of destruction (and **kāla** 'time' is indeed described as the destroyer of beings in the Mahābhārata), but this word seems to be of different - but also Dravidian - origin (for its derivation from DEDR 1479 **kāl** 'leg' > 'quarter' > 'season', see Parpola 1975-76).

The association of the **sacred fig tree** (especially banyan and pipal) with the Harappan "Proto-Śiva" and his successors is a most important subject, but too extensive to be treated properly in this book (it has been touched on in passing cnly on p. 70f);

I hope to be able to discuss it soon elsewhere. However, I must deal here with one context where the banyan tree plays a dominant role, because this rite supplies an important proof for the phallic connotation of the burnt (!) sacrificial post and its relationship with Śiva's flaming liṅga pillar, one of the principal ideas of this book (p.101-135).

Varuṇa is the deity to approach when one desires to get a son (cf. AB 7,14,1). In the Vedic rite of **puṃsavana** 'causing the birth of a male child', various symbols of the male generative organ are used, and they can be connected with Varuṇa. Thus, the banyan tree is explicitly associated with Varuṇa (cf. GGS 4,7,24 **nyagrodho vāruṇo vṛkṣaḥ**), and so are barley and beans (cf. Meyer 1937: III, 217ff). The context underlines the phallic nature of Varuṇa (addressed in this rite as Prajāpati, the Lord of Creation) and his relationship with Śiva as the god of the **liṅga** in later Hinduism.

According to the description of the **puṃsavana** in JGS 1,5, "having shaped two beans and a barley corn into the male generative organ (**māṣau ca yavaṃ ca pulliṅgaṃ kṛtvā**), he should give it her to eat together with a drop of sour milk with the formula (which should be muttered by the pregnant woman): 'Prajāpati, the male, the overlord, may he give a long-living glorious son. May I together with my husband bring forth living children'" (transl. Caland 1922: 10). The commentator Śrīnivāsa says that the drop of curds symbolizes semen. JGS 1,5 may be compared to HGS 2,1,2,2-4: "He gives her a barley grain in her right hand with (the formula), 'A man art thou'; with (the formula), 'The two testicles are ye', two mustard seeds or two beans, on both sides of that barley grain. With (the formula), 'Śvāvṛtat' (? śvāvṛttat ?) (he pours) a drop of curds on those grains" (transl. Oldenberg 1892: II, 209). JGS 1,5 continues: "Then having fastened a nyagrodha shoot, which has /two/ fruits, with two threads... she should bear it on her throat. This, they say, is a sure means to get a son" (transl. Caland 1922: 10). According to Śrīnivāsa the two fruits should be at the root of the nyagrodha shoot, so that it looks like a penis with testicles.

In other Gṛhyasūtras, shoots of the banyan tree (having a

fruit on either side, as above) - and according to PGS 1,14,3 descending aerial roots of the banyan also - are pounded with mill-stones, and the husband inserts the resulting paste into the right nostril of his wife (cf. GGS 2,6,9-11). According to HGS 2,1,2,6 (cf. also ŚGS 1,20,3), the pounded banyan shoot may be mixed, among other things, with **"a splinter of a sacrificial post taken from the north-easterly part (of that post) exposed to the fire,** or (he takes ashes or soot /?/ of) a fire that has been kindled by attrition, and inserts that into the right nostril of (the wife)" (transl. Oldenberg 1892: II, 209f). It is evident that the sacrificial post here has a phallic connotation, just like the kindling of fire by attrition symbolizes the sexual act (cf. Krick 1982: 189ff, 201ff). One of the verses with which the insertion into the nostril is done (cf. ŚGS 1,20,5) begins "That sperm to us..." (ṚS 3,4,9).

I would like to conclude with yet another reference to the banyan tree, because it fits so well with the basic theme of the book. In the Near East, the term "sky garment" referred to the star-spangled sky as well as to the rain-clouds (cf. p. 35-37, 157), and Varuṇa's garment, too, appears to have had both significations (cf. p. 39 ff., 158). We have just seen that the aerial roots of the banyan have a fructifying function in the **puṃsavana** ritual, and thus correspond to rain falling on earth as the seed of the heavenly bull, i.e. Varuṇa (cf. above, p. 88f, 39f). These various themes nicely come together in a beautiful stanza, where the banyan tree is likened to the sky and the rainclouds (translated by D.H.H. Ingalls in Sternbach 1977: III, 1263 no. 5247):

"The sky looks like a banyan tree,
the clouds its dark foliage,
and these streams of rain that hang to earth,
its aerial roots."

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ĀpŚS = Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra. See Garbe 1882-1902 & Caland 1921-28. 18,5,7-8 (45); 18,14,1 (45); 19,27,21 (44); 20,8,4 (97);

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BaudhGS = Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra. See Shamasastri 1982. 1,5,6ff (133)

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ŚA = Śaṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka. See Pāṭhak 1922. 7,4 (104f)
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An analytic index

This index covers only the main body of the text, ignoring the summary, where the material is repeated in an abbreviated form.

The following **abbreviations** are used. The **sign #** denotes the entry, and the **equals sign (=)** an ancient equation of the entry with the thing mentioned next to it; the **colon (:)** expresses any sort of relationship seen by the author or by some other modern author between the entry and the thing mentioned after the colon, or an indirect or implicit ancient equation. **f** (after page number) means "and the following page" (**ff** "...pages"), **gt** garment, **MD** Mohenjo-daro, **p-k** "priest-king", **q.v.** quod vide (= see this word), **sf** sacrifice, **sfd** sacrificed, **sfr** sacrificer, **sfl** sacrificial, **3f** trefoil, **vs.** versus 'against, contrasting with'. Definite and indefinite articles are usually omitted, and so are diacritics, except in the key words.

Words (excepting names, including names of plants in Latin) in languages other than English and Sanskrit were normally not indexed separately as key words, but under the respective languages (Akkadian - including Neo-Babylonian -, Avestan, Dravidian, Finnish, Greek, Hindi, Pali, Persian, Sumerian, Tamil, Tulu). Under Sanskrit key words one will find the pages where these terms have been quoted, but usually a comprehensive content analysis (including references where the Sanskrit term has not been specifically quoted) is given only under the corresponding English word (cf. **adhivāsa(s)** vs. overcloth, or **yoni** vs. womb). Crossreferences are usually limited to near synonyms.

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Hindu buffalo sf, # is made of sami :sami tree into which Buffalo demon changed itself 114f; octagonal # = 8-syllabled gayatri metre (= golden bird fetching immortality) 108; # = Visnu (= sf when extended) 108-110; # either left standing or thrown into sacred fire after Vedic sf 113; in South Indian folk religion, # is burnt after marriage feast of Goddess, # = low-caste husband of Goddess :Kama (god of erotic love) burnt to ashes 113f; # = sfr 107, who goes to heaven with golden body when # is thrown into fire (= womb of gods) 113; # burnt in fire :Siva's flaming linga pillar :Harappan fire-altars with clay or wooden posts in fireplaces (libations probably poured on the heated post 116f) 115ff, 132, burning linga :burnt # :shoots of banyan tree (:Varuna) with 2 fruits = phallus with testicles = barley grain (:Varuna) with 2 beans (:Varuna) 161f; uprooting & burning of # :Siva's castration & burning of his severed linga :sexual heat :fire (Agni) as seducer of wives of 7 sages :sun's energy :ascetic heat 132; # points upwards, being way to heaven 113, # as means of reaching heaven & immortality :golden-feathered bird (fetching immortality) :Garuda 108f; sun = # (for performer of agnihotra where there is no animal sf) 117; # (as gate to heaven & as vertical) :phallus (:Sunahsepa legend) 112f, :thunderbolt :Vajrayana 110; ; # = sfl victim (= sfr 107), esp. primeval man (**purusa**) who was sfd in first sf & whose severed limbs became universe 106f :husband of goddess & his penis in South Indian folk religion :sfl horse lying down with queen in Vedic ritual 110ff; # between Hotr & Brahman priests, who ask & answer cosmic riddles (like rebirth of moon) during simulated copulation at Vedic horse sf 96f; victim bound to # with Varuna's fetter 106

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servant of deity, title of priest or devotee :Indus script 80

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sexual intercourse, # of Buffalo demon & Goddess in South Indian folk religion :# of Yama's buffalo & old woman in Vajrayanic art :# of gaur bull & naked priestess in Harappan seal from Chanhujodaro 103 :simulated # of dead afl horse (<buffalo) & queen in Vedic horse af (horse re-enters womb) 68f, while cosmic riddles (like about rebirth of moon) are asked & answered by priests standing on either side of afl post (:phallus) 98f; # & (afl) death 110ff; # of creator-god Prajapati (:night, :Varuna) & his own daughter (:dawn), Prajapati killed for this incest 83; # of moon (= Gandharva), "seed-layer", & lunar asterisms (= Apsarases) 125; kindling of fire by attrition = # 162; # of waters (:Pleiades), wives of Varuna, with fire-god Agni 139f; # of Pleiades with Agni, their mate & divinity 100; Pleiades rising in east were formerly wives of 7 sages (= Ursa Major), but are now precluded from # with their husbands, who rise in north 128; # :7 sages & their wives 131-135; # as consummation of marriage :Gandharvas & linga cult established by 7 sages 132f; # depicted on amulet from MD (man standing behind bending woman) :similar # depicted on Gulf seals 102f; see buffalo, linga, Pleiades, seven sages, womb

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sickle, used in sacrifices to Goddess :knife in horse af 68

sin or evil (**papman**), # = darkness :black, = Death (**papman artyu**) :Varuna 65, 89, 93; # is to be carried away by Apabharani asterism of Yama 91f; #s committed during afl year are propitiated by sfrs in final avabhrtha bath sacred to Varuna 92

Sind, races of bull chariots in # & Deccan :Late Harappan bull chariot model from Daimabad :horse chariot race of Vajapeya 70; cemetery of Sibri near Mehrgarh in # 156

Sirius, asterism called "Hunter" = Rudra, who shot to death his own father Prajapati in deer form 83

śiśnadevāḥ, 'people having phallus or tail as deity' 89

śiśumāra 'crocodile', lit. 'baby-killer' 66

sitting posture, # (vs. standing) of Indus "Proto-Siva" (:Proto-Elamite models :yoga?), of p-k & related figures, 14, 17-21

Śiva, Indus p-k :conventional image of # 16; # 'kind, auspicious', euphemistic name for Rudra & buffalo-formed Bhairava (:Indus "Proto-Siva") 38; sky garment of # residing in cremation ground 41, #'s hair with Ganges river :Vedic & Sumerian water gods Varuna & Enki 41, #'s moon on crest :moon besides bull-riding god of Khafajeh vase 41; #'s third eye (burnt Kama to ashes, wept at the destruction of aerial 3 forts of demons, his tears becoming Rudraksa beads :Indus beads with red 3fs 82) :3rd eye of enraged buffalo-formed Yama & Bhairava (fig. 15f) :thunderbolt flashing from raincloud :star on forehead of Mesopotamian "bull of heaven" :circular buckle on forehead of Indus p-k (fig. 1) :Buddha's 3rd eye (circle of hair between eyebrows) 81f; worship of #'s linga with trifoliate bilva leaves (especially on #ratri festival celebrating #'s first manifestation in phallic form) :bilva = #'s 3 eyes :bilva as #'s seed :Harappan 'linga' and 'yoni' stones decorated with 3fs 103-105; #'s linga :cosmic pillar :afl post 106-115; #'s burning linga :afl post burnt in fire :Harappan fireplaces with clay or wooden post in their middle 115ff, 132, 161; #'s linga worshipped with libations of 5 products of cow & sacred water mixed with bilva leaves (:semen) :libation of some liquid on heated posts in Harappan fire altars :libation of milk (= seed) on fire (= womb) or on heated pot (= phallus) in Vedic ritual 116f; # gave magic knowledge of reviving dead to planet Venus (Sukra 'white, semen'), priest of demons 120; #'s linga fell on earth in hermitage of 7 sages & started burning the world 130-135; # as arch-ascetic is permanently chaste yet ithyphallic, he accumulates seed or creative power by means of chastity (such powerful sages are often seduced by heavenly maidens sent by jealous overgod) 133; #'s (or Agni's) seed fell in Ganges (:ecliptic) where Pleiades (wives of 7 sages) were bathing, they became pregnant of it, or nursed the child instantly born of it (Karttikeya, Rudra, Skanda :vernal sun born at new year) 131, 134f; see buffalo, linga, Pleiades, "Proto-Siva", Rudra, Seven sages, Skanda, Varuna

śīv- ~ si, vi 48, 53

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skambha 'pillar, post', :**stambha** 'id.' :Pali **thambha** 'id.' :Tamil **kampam** 'id.' :Asoka's pillars :afl post :linga 106ff; = sun 117

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skin, # of black antelope (**krsnajina**) :dark dress vs. tarpya gt 46; animal # as afl dress 51; # of black antelope (= af, = womb), worn as gt of consecration (:tarpya gt) in Vedic Soma sf by sfr, (or over gt of consecration = placenta over caul covering embryo 98), in Vedic fire altar ritual worn with golden plate (= light, = sun, = vital energy & vigour, = truth, = immortality) sewn into it 53f; # of black antelope & gt of consecration are discarded at end of sf in avabhrtha bath, = newborn baby is freed from its embryonal covers at bath after birth, = snake is freed from its old skin (= evil & sin = death), = sun-child is released from womb of night, :sun divests itself in morning of black gt of night, which sinks in waters like # 92-94, 98-100; deceased sfr, or his bones, put on # of black antelope & burnt in his own sacred fires 61, 63; # & body parts of black cow spread out over corpse on funeral pyre 73

sky, Sumerian # god Anu sends Bull of Heaven to destroy Uruk 28; Egyptian # goddess Neit shown in her starred nakedness 36; # is sustained by cosmic pillar (**skambha**) :sun :afl post 113, 117; # = banyan-fig (:Varuna), clouds = dark leaves, streams of rain = aerial roots 162; # is maintained by Ahura Mazda through brightness & glory of ancestral spirits 141; # is full of sages, heroes & demigods shining as stars 58; Agni has decorated # with stars 141; "#" in paintings of Late Harappan burial pottery has stars, fig leaves, fish & 3fs alternating with each other 71; # (:heavenly rivers, heavenly ocean) or night # :Varuna 39, 41f; # :tent 157; see heaven, sky gt

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womb, mantle (or overcloth) of king in royal consecration = # of kingship 49, gt made of darbha grass = # of kingship 52; # = fireplace (both are warm & have power of transformation, say African Mbuti) 159, virgins wishing to get married & have children on pilgrimage to temple of Tirupati in South India make fireplaces (:womb) of stone 159f; man is really born only when he establishes sacred fires (:womb) at marriage immediately following upon bath at end of studentship (:embryonic period of gestation) marking his 2nd birth 99; 3 sacred fires established by deceased sfr = his sons & # from out of which sfr is reborn into heaven to shine there as star 61, 64, 91; when sfr pours milk (= seed) into fire (= # of gods), he is reborn immortal & attains to gods 118; when sfl post (= sfr) is thrown in fire (= # of gods) after sf, sfr goes to heaven with golden body 113; in sacred marriage of horse sf, immolated sfl victim re-enters # in his seed through sexual union & is covered with tarpya gt or overcloth = embryonic covers of # 68, :old, dying sun re-enters # of night in evening & is reborn from out of it as new young sun in morning 68, fire & sun mutually impregnate each other & are

born from out of # of each other in Agnihotra ritual 98; # of waters is birthplace of sfl horse :water buffalo as sfl animal 69; golden-winged bird, messenger of Varuna, flying up to zenith, is active in # or abode (**yoni**) of Yama 71; Prajapati created # of 1000 cows = tarpya gt, thrown upon back of 1000th cow for obtaining that same # 72, 88f; tarpya gt = Indra's # 73; # of demon Vrtra, shattered & torn out by Indra, became traidhatavi rite 96; Prajapati created cattle with # consisting of traidhatavi rite, which can be used for creating cattle 97, from # of traidhatavi rite (whose caul & # is tarpya gt), sf, exhausted after year-long offering, is reproduced, made fit again, as is sfr, exhausted by his gift of 1000 cows 97; tarpya gt = # of sf & of sfr 98f; fireplace = # of sun, = # of sfr :puns in Dravidian: fireplace :# :pregnancy :wateriness of clouds 88; Varuna = #, # = darkness 89; # as gate to rebirth & new cycle of life :Apabharani asterism at end of yearly cycle consisting of 3 stars in triangle = # 97; # :vessel :earth 99; red "yoni"-like Indus pedestal covered with 3fs :Indus p-k's gt with red 3fs :tarpya gt (= #) with image of **dhisnyas** 'fireplace' (:womb) & 'star' (:Apabharani asterism of 3 stars in triangle = # & fireplace made of 3 stones) 101; "Bull of heaven" covered with 3fs (:womb) :body of Indra (god of thunder) covered with 1000 female organs in punishment of his adultery (:Prajapati's incest) 89f; small platform called # (**yoni**) in fireplace on which buffalo was offered to goddess on 9th day of navaratri festival 115; # :nostril 162; see birth, embryo, fireplace, linga, stone, 3f, vulva, yoni

wood, #en lingas at ND (?) 25; # as material of buildings & sculpture between Indus & Mauryan times 105f, allegedly Siva-lingas always made of stone 25, 105, but #en Siva-lingas exist (e.g. in Puri) 158; # as material of sfl post, afterwards burnt 108, 112ff; #en post in ritual fireplace at Lothal :burning of sfl posts :Siva's flaming linga 116

wood apple (Aegle marmelos), 103-105, see **bilva**

wool, in Mesopotamia, dyed # used for decorating linen gts 32, # used for gts of gods & kings 37; bones of sfr who has died away from home are placed on black antelope skin, covered with #, sprinkled with ghee & burnt in his own fires 61

world, 3 #s reached by means of 3-day rite 72; 3 #s :3 forts of Asuras & Dasas :copper, silver, gold 77; see atmosphere, earth, heaven, sky, universe

writing, see Indus script

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yajamāna 'sacrificer' (q.v.) 107

yajña 'sacrifice' (q.v.) 47-49, 51-53, 66, 109

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yajñopavīta 'sacrificial garment (q.v.), sacred thread (q.v.)' 51

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24. Illustrations

Frontispiece. After Marshall 1931: III, pl. 98.3. By permission of Arthur Probsthain and the Archaeological Survey of India. - See fig. 1.

Fig. 1. The so called "priest-king" statue (DK 1909) from Mohenjo-daro (DK area, B section, Room 1). White steatite, with remnants of red paste inside the trefoils of the robe. Height (after repair) 17 cm. Now in the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi. After Marshall 1931: III, pl. 98.1-4. By permission of Arthur Probsthain and the Archaeological Survey of India. Discussed in detail in chapter 3. - See p. 10, 13, 81, 143f.

Fig. 2. Statuette of a seated male figure (HR 163). Made of alabaster. Height 42 cm. From Mohenjo-daro: HR area, in three pieces scattered widely apart from each other (cf. Mackay 1931: I, 359 f.). After Marshall 1931: III, pl. 100.4-6. By permission of Arthur Probsthain and the Archaeological Survey of India. - See p. 14, 18, 144.

Fig. 3. Statuette of a seated male figure (L 950). Made of alabaster. Height 29 cm. From Mohenjo-daro: L area, chamber 75, NE corner above pavement (cf. Mackay 1931: I, 358 f). After Marshall 1931: III, pl. 100.1-3. By permission of Arthur Probsthain and the Archaeological Survey of India. - See p. 18, 144.

Fig. 4. The eternal fight between lion and bull on two Proto-Elamite cylinder seals from Susa. About 3100-2900 B.C. After Amiet 1961: nos. 585 and 591. By permission of Prof. P. Amiet. - See p. 21, 28, 144.

Fig. 5. Harappan necklace-beads decorated with trefoils. Not to scale. **a-c** (after Wheeler 1968: 100, fig. 16.1-3, based on Vats 1940: II, pl. 133.2.a,c,b) **and d** (drawn by Virpi Hämeen-Anttila after Vats 1940: II, pl. 133.2.e) from Harappa. **e-g** (after Mackay 1943: pl. LXXXIII.49-51) from Chanhujo-daro. **h-k** (drawn by Virpi

Hämeen-Anttila after Mackay 1938: II, pl. 136.57,66,67,71), **l-m** (after ibid. pl. 137.94,97), **n-p** (after ibid. pl. 138.1-3) from Mohenjo-daro, DK area, G section, upper levels, & **q** (after ibid. 139.74) from the lower levels. By permission of the Cambridge University Press (a-c) and the Archaeological Survey of India (e-q). - See p. 22, 149.

Fig. 6. A Harappan finger-ring decorated with trefoil patterns (DK 8498). Made of steatite. From Mohenjo-daro: DK area, G section, block 10, house I, room 11, lower levels (- 22 ft.). After Mackay 1938: II, pl. 139.14. By permission of the Archaeological Survey of India. - See p. 24.

Fig. 7. One side of a Harappan dice with the trefoil pattern. From Chanhujo-daro. After Mode 1944: 119, Abb. 320 (based on Majumdar 1934, pl. 17.41). - See p. 24.

Fig. 8. Two sherds of Harappan polychrome pottery with the trefoil pattern (cf. Mackay 1938: I, 227 f.). Drawn by Virpi Hämeen-Anttila after Mackay 1938: II, pl. 68.10,15. - See p. 26.

Fig. 9. A carefully polished Harappan pedestal made of dark red stone and decorated with trefoil patterns (DK 4480). From Mohenjo-daro: DK area, G section, block 9, house VII, room 18, at a level of - 4.8 ft. Now in the National Museum of Pakistan in Karachi. **a**: photo by Asko Parpola (1971) **and b**: after Mackay 1938: II, pl. 107.35, by permission of the Archaeological Survey of India. Cf. Mackay 1938: I, 412. - See p. 24, 101ff & fig. 26.

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Fig. 11. Statuette of a "bull of heaven" with quatrefoils on its body and a star on its forehead. Made of limestone, legs of silver. Height 8,3 cm. From Uruk, Jemdet Nasr period (about 3200-2900 B.C.). Now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad. Photo courtesy of Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Baghdad; after Hrouda 1971: Tafel 12a. - See p. 27, 81, 143.

Fig. 12. Statuette of a human-headed bull with trefoil carvings on its body. From Tello. Neo-Sumerian period, about 22nd century B.C. Made of steatite. Height 10 cm. Now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. After Parrot 1960: 225 no. 276a. By permission of Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre. - See p. 27, 143f, 146.

Fig. 13. "The divine Cow" with trefoil decorations on its body in the bed found in Tutankhamun's grave, Egypt, 13th century B.C. Made of wood coated with gesso and guilded. The length of the cow figures is 2.21 m, their height 1.79 m, the length of the pedestal 1.78 m, its width 1.28 m. After **Treasures of Tutankhamun** (1971), no. 13 (third page). By permission of the Cairo Museum. - See p. 28, 143f.

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Fig. 16. Buffalo-headed Yama, the god of death, with three eyes, riding a buffalo which copulates with an old woman. A Lamaistic statue. After Grünwedel 1900: 168, Abb. 142. - See p. 38, 64, 81, 149.

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Fig. 19. A map of the area of the Vedic Soma-sacrifice, showing the position of the **dhiṣṇya** hearths: six fireplaces are in a row in the **sadas** or sitting hall, and a seventh and eighth in the two sheds on the northern and southern border of the Mahāvedi. After Caland & Henry 1906: I, pl. IV. - See p. 55, 60, 123.

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Fig. 21. Harappan-inspired trefoil and bull decorations in the fragments of alabaster mosaic discovered from the palace of Dashly-3, North Afghanistan. About 2000 B.C. After Sarianidi 1977: fig. 19. By permission of Prof. V.I. Sarianidi and the USSR Copyright Agency. - See p. 75, 156.

Fig. 22. Cultic centre surrounded by three concentric fortification walls at Dashly-3, North Afghanistan. About 2000 B.C. After

Sarianidi 1977: 38, figs. 13-14. By permission of Prof. V.I. Sarianidi and the USSR Copyright Agency. Identified with Old Iranian **var** (Jettmar 1981; cf. also Brentjes 1981: 8, 10) and with the **tripura** of the Dāsas mentioned in the Veda (cf. Parpola in press, # 3.1.5-8). - See p. 76f.

Fig. 23. Ground-plan of the palace discovered at Dashly-3 in North Afghanistan. About 2000 B.C. After Sarianidi 1977: 42, fig. 15. By permission of Prof. V.I. Sarianidi and the USSR Copyright Agency. This is the prototype of the later Tantric maṇḍalas or yantras, magic diagrams representing the cosmos (see e.g. fig. 23; and cf. Brentjes 1981: 26). - See p. 78.

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Fig. 25. A triangular terracotta amulet from Mohenjo-daro (UPM-602), with a ship, an alligator and an Indus inscription. Length 4.6 cm. After Dales 1968: 39. By permission of Prof. George F. Dales and the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. - See p. 79-81, 149.

Fig. 26. "Stone (?) **liṅgam** and two decorated bases" from Mohenjo-daro. Photo and text after Allchin & Allchin 1982: 214 fig. 8.18 (based on Mackay 1938: II, pl. 104.26,22,29). By permission of Dr Bridget Allchin and Dr Raymond Allchin. For the trefoil-decorated base see also fig. 9 above. - See p. 101.

Fig. 27. Ithyphallic male statuettes from Mohenjo-daro. Rough sketches by Asko Parpola based on the Photographic Archive of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi. **a**: Sind Vol. 16, p. 47, no. 7322; p. 50 neg. no. 7332, exc. no. C 2623; **b**: Sind vol. 21, p. 9, neg. no. 243, exc. no. DK 6265: this piece is similar to the ones published by Dales (1968b), but more complete, having a boar's head. - See p. 102.

Fig. 28. Sexual intercourse on side "c" of the three-faced terracotta amulet from Mohenjo-daro illustrated in Marshall 1931: III, pl. 116.14 and 118.10. A sketch drawing by Asko Parpola based on an examination of the original object kept in the National Museum of India, New Delhi. - See p. 103.

Fig. 29. Cultic images of Śiva's **liṅga** (phallus) from the historical period. After T.A.G. Rao (1914-16, repr. 1985) II.1: pl. VI. - See p. 103, 152.

Fig. 30. Worship of Śiva's **liṅga** fixed on a **yoni** stand with trefoiled **bilva** leaves. Partially damaged roof painting from the Vaidyanātha temple of Tiṭṭaguḍi (ancient Vasiṣṭhakuṭi), Tamilnadu, illustrating the mythical history of the village. Photo Asko Parpola. - See p. 108.

Fig. 31. Ritualistic fireplaces in a row disturbed by a later drain at Kalibangan. Mature Harappan period. After IAR 1962-63 (1965): pl. LVIII. By permission of the Archaeological Survey of India. - See p. 116, 152.

Fig. 32. Sections across Harappan fireplaces at Kalibangan, showing **(a)** a cylindrical and **(b)** a rectangular block of clay in their middle. After IAR 1962-63 (1965): pl. LVII. By permission of the Archaeological Survey of India. - See p. 116.

Fig. 33. A Harappan seal from Mohenjo-daro (DK 6847). Now in the National Museum of Pakistan. Latter half of the third millennium B.C. Photo courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan. - A severed head, which can be recognized as that of a warrior from the "double-bun" hairstyle, is placed upon a throne, like "Makha's head" is placed on a throne (**āsandī**) in the Vedic pravargya ritual. The head seems to represent an offering to the goddess of Victory inhabiting the sacred fig tree, comparable to the later human sacrifices to the banyan tree for the sake of victory, recorded in the Jātakas (no. 353). The animal to the left is the wild markhor goat (Sanskrit

śarabha), mentioned in the Kālikā-Purāṇa (57,5-6 and in Kane 1955: V.1, 165 n. 425) as a victim that pleases the Goddess as much as the buffalo. The seven figures in a row at the bottom can be recognized as female from their "pig-tailed" hairstyle: they are likely to be the "seven mothers", the stars of the Pleiades or the Kṛttikās. The Kṛttikās are associated with the birth and with the war expeditions of the war-god Skanda or Kārttikeya, the consort of the Goddess of Victory and her male counterpart, represented by the sacrificed warrior. (For an extensive discussion of these interpretations, see Parpola in press.) - See p. 120f, 136, 151.

Fig. 34. A moulded Harappan amulet of grey-coloured paste, pierced in two places (B 426). Found in room 17, block 3, section B, DK area, Mohenjo-daro (cf. Mackay 1931: II, 393). After Marshall 1931: III, pl. 116.1. By permission of Arthur Probsthain and the Archaeological Survey of India. - Both sides of this amulet show a variant of the scene represented in the seal of fig. 31, from which it differs in the following respects. There is no inscription nor a human head on a throne; the markhor is placed in front of the kneeling priest or priestess; the row of anthropomorphic figures is placed in the upper and not in the lower register, and the number of the figures is six instead of seven. This fluctuation between six and seven is particularly significant, for it supports the identification of the figures with the stars of the Kṛttikās (Pleiades): in mythology, the number of the Kṛttikās is six or seven, depending on whether Arundhatī (the star Alcor in Ursa Major) is included or not. - See p. 121, 151.

Fig. 35. a-d: Fragment of an animal (probably bull) decorated with trefoils (which still have red pigment inside them). Made of steatite. Excavated (as object no. SD 1767) in 1925-26 at Mohenjo-daro, south of the Stūpa complex. Now in Moenjo-daro Museum, Pakistan. Photos courtesy of Forschungsprojekt Mohenjo-daro, Lehrstuhl für Baugeschichte und Denkmalpflege, Technische Hochschule Aachen, FRG. - See p. 156f.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2a

Fig. 2b

Fig. 2c

Fig. 3a

Fig. 3b

Fig. 3c

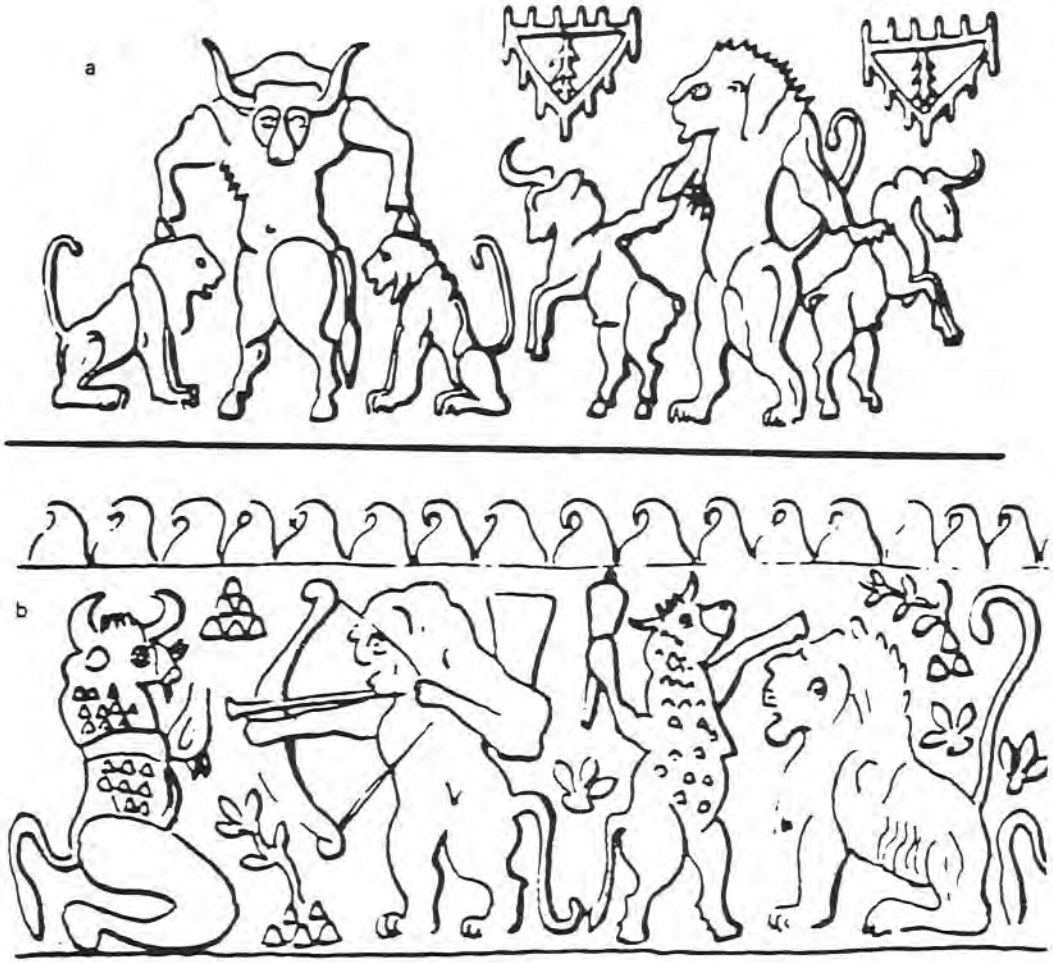

Fig. 4

Fig. 5a

Fig. 5b

Fig. 5c

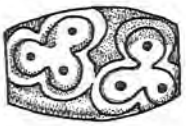

Fig. 5d

Fig. 5e

Fig. 5f

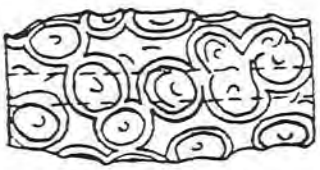

Fig. 5g

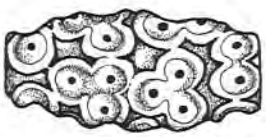

Fig. 5h

Fig. 5i

Fig. 5j

Fig. 5k

Fig. 5l

Fig. 5m

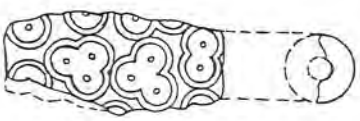

Fig. 5n

Fig. 5o

Fig. 5p

Fig. 5q

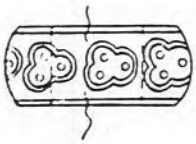

Fig. 6

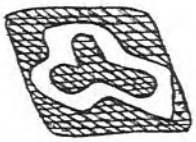

Fig. 7

Fig. 8a

Fig. 8b

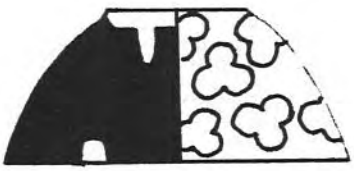

Fig. 9b

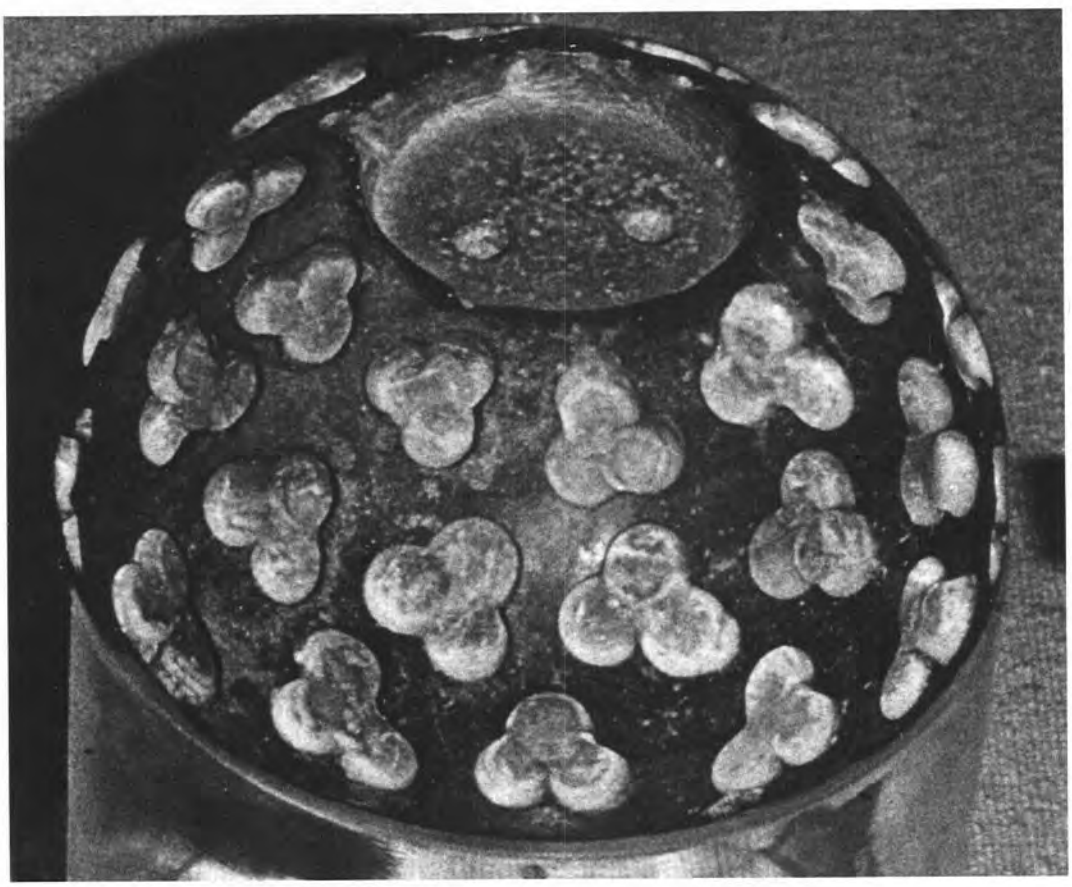

Fig. 9a

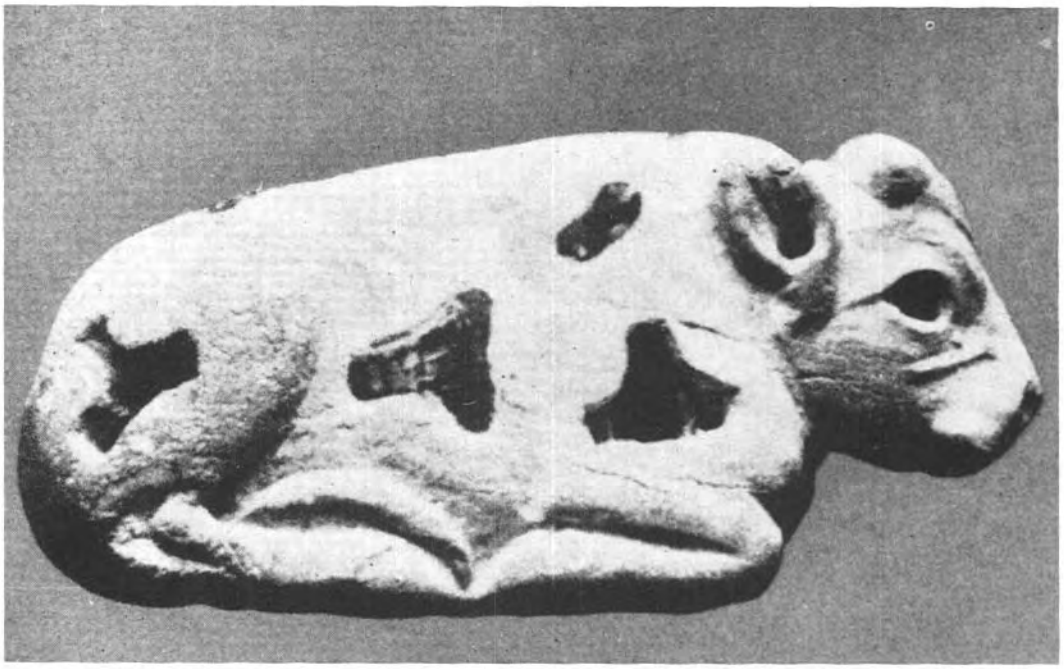

Fig. 10

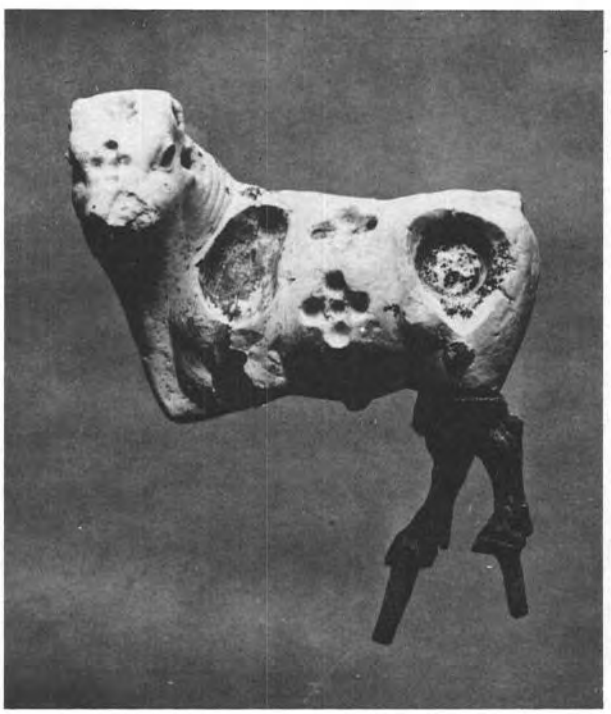

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

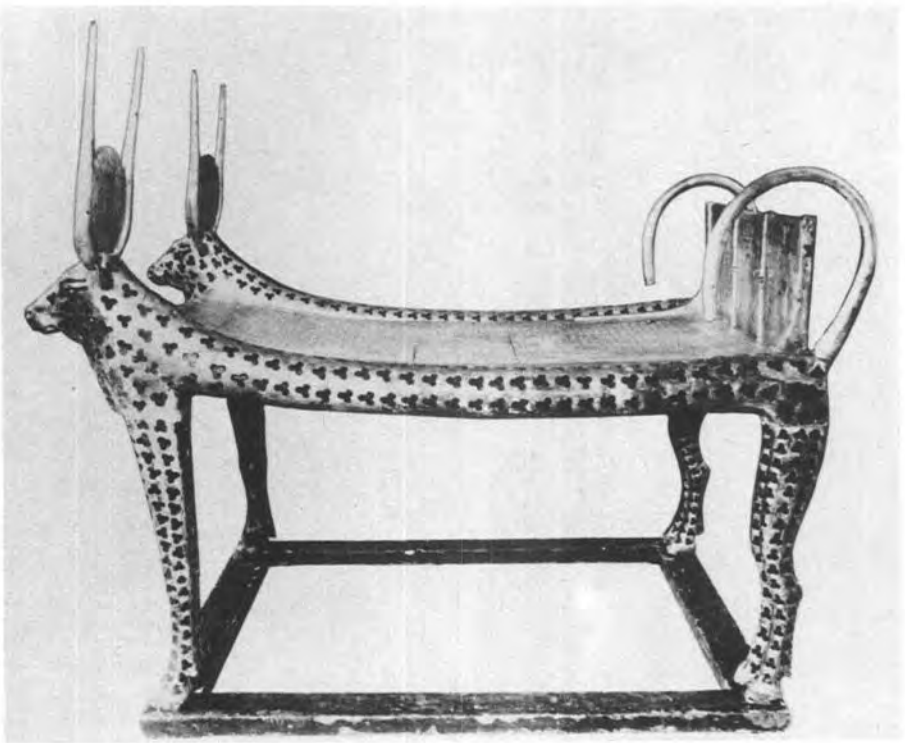

Fig. 13

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INSCRIPTION

Fig. 14: 1–26

॥འཕེན་བས་བྱེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ॥

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

Fig. 17a

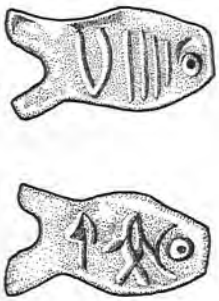


Fig. 17b

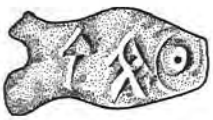


Fig. 17c

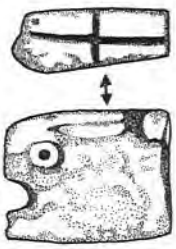


Fig. 17d

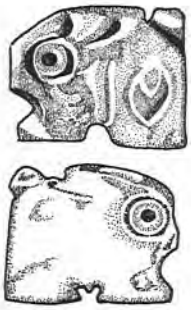


Fig. 17e

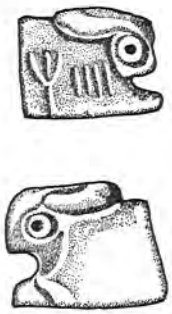


Fig. 17f

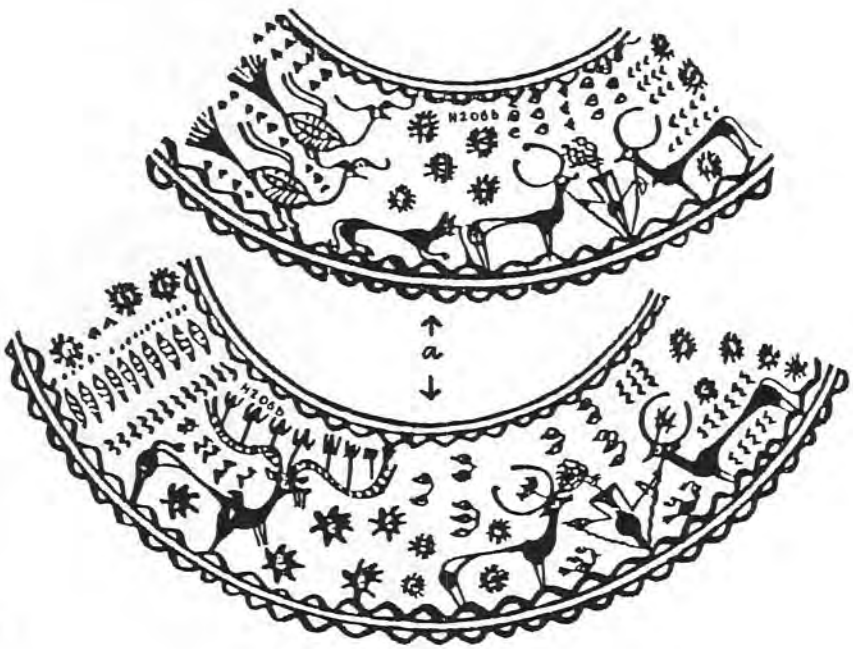


Fig. 18a

Fig. 18 b

Fig. 18 c

Fig. 18 d

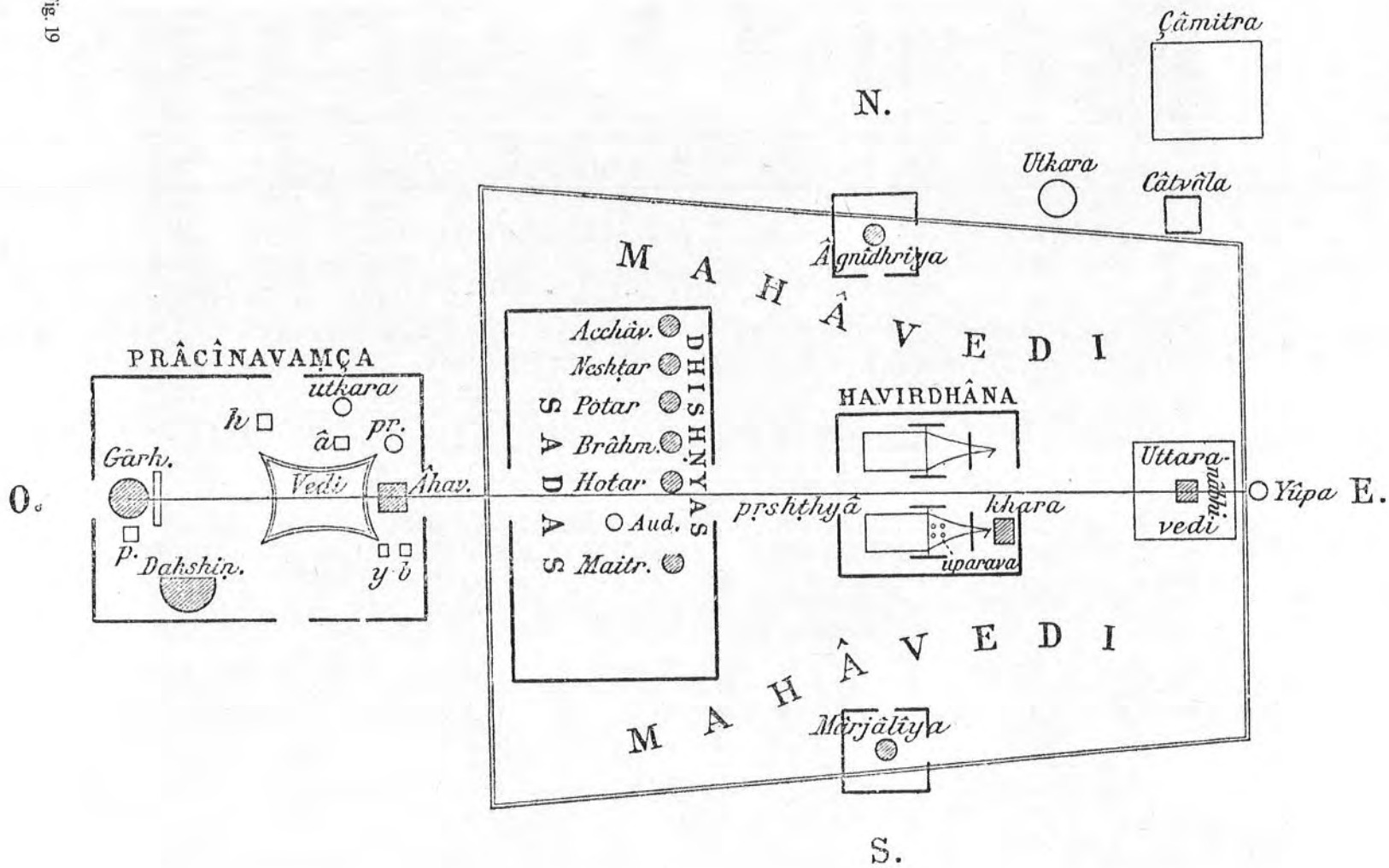
Fig. 18 e

Fig. 18 f

Fig. 18 g

Fig. 18 h

Fig. 19


Çâmitra
N.
Utkara
Câtvâla
MAHÂVEDI
Âgnîdhrîya
Acchâv.
Neshṭar
Potar
Brâhm.
Hotar
Aud.
Maitr.
SADAS
DHISHṆYAS
PRÂCÎNAVAMÇA
utkara
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âhav.
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Vedi
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Uttara-nâbhi
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khara
uparava
Yûpa
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MAHÂVEDI
Mârjâlîya
S.

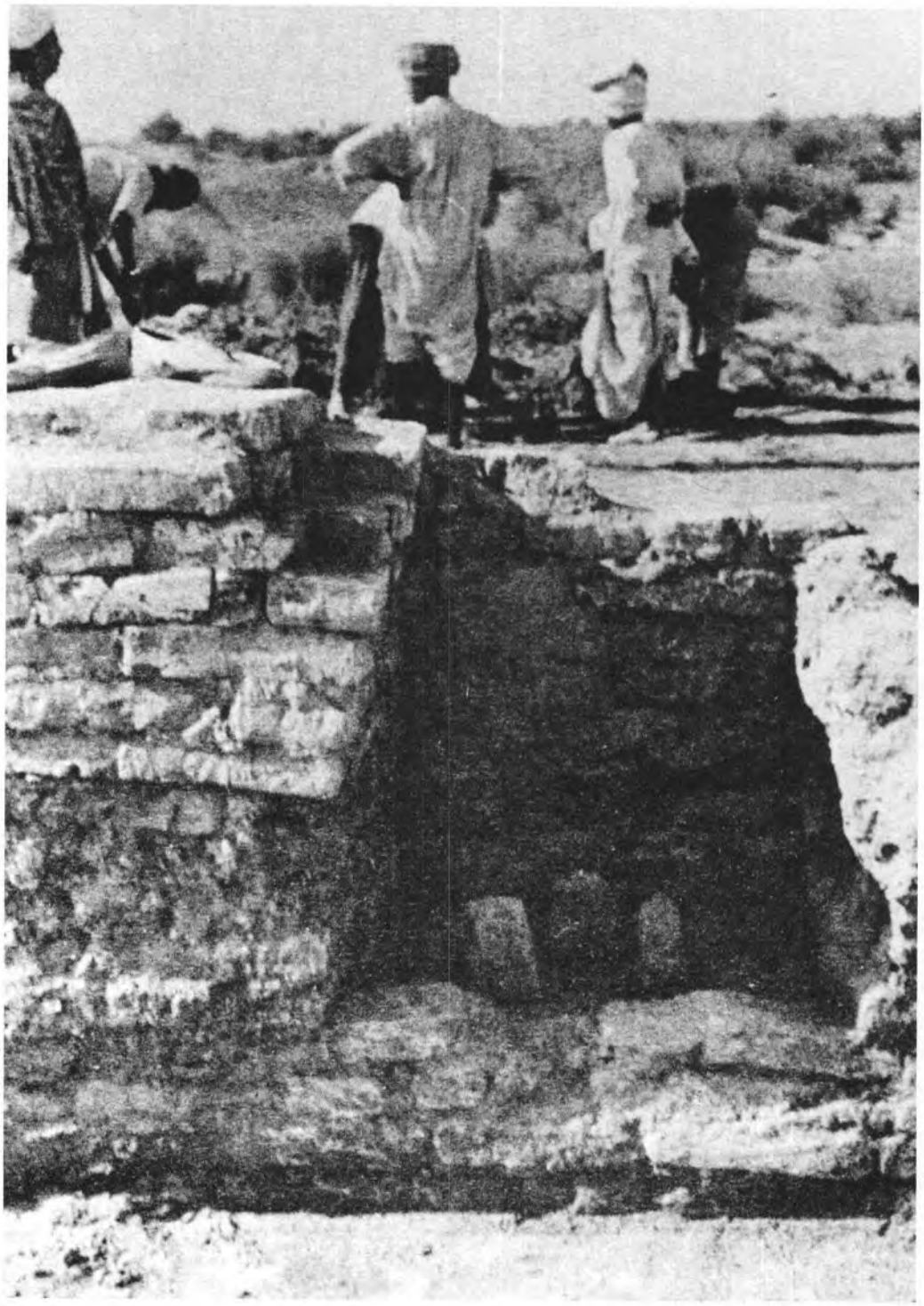

Fig. 20

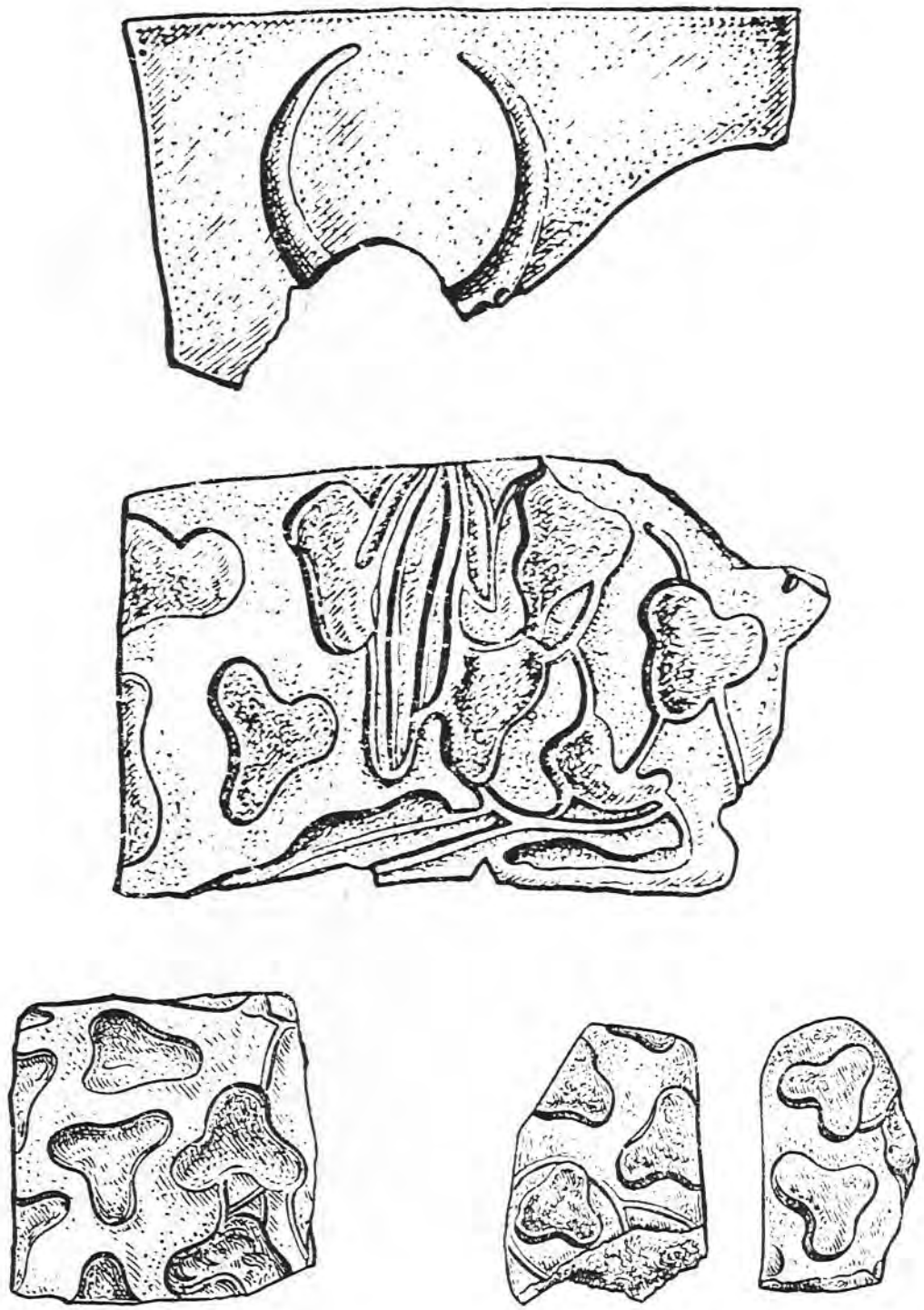

Fig. 21

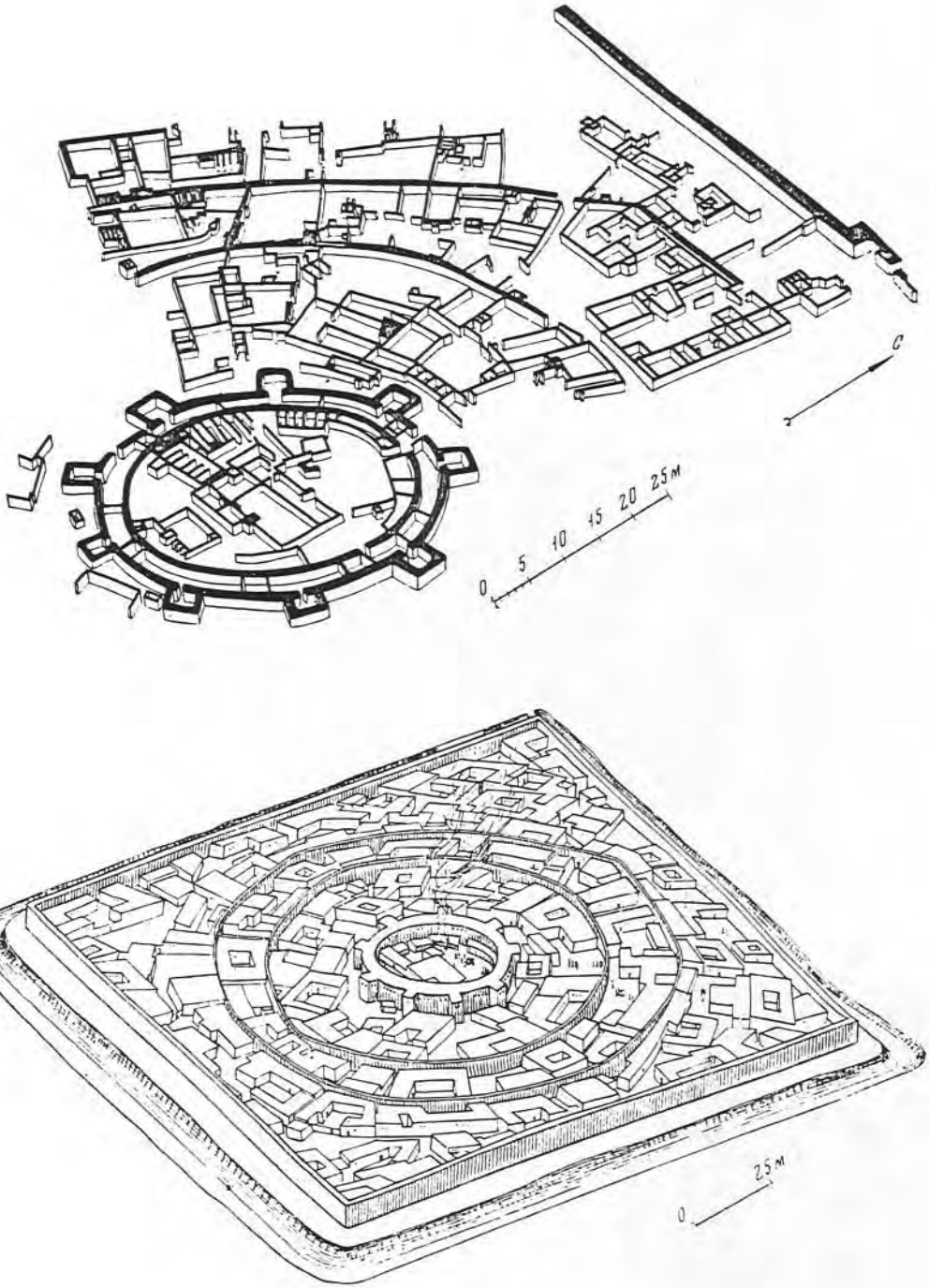

Fig. 22

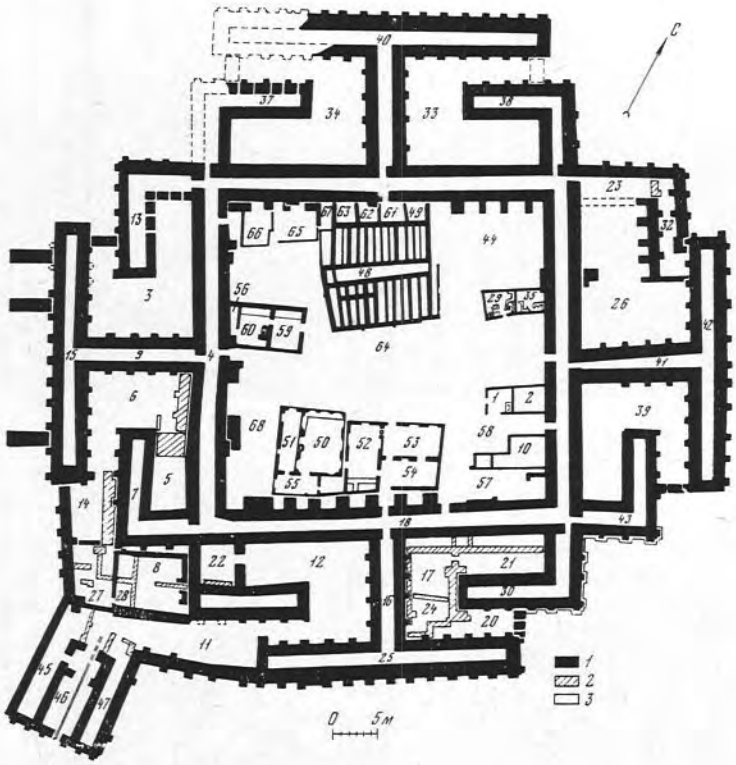

Fig. 23

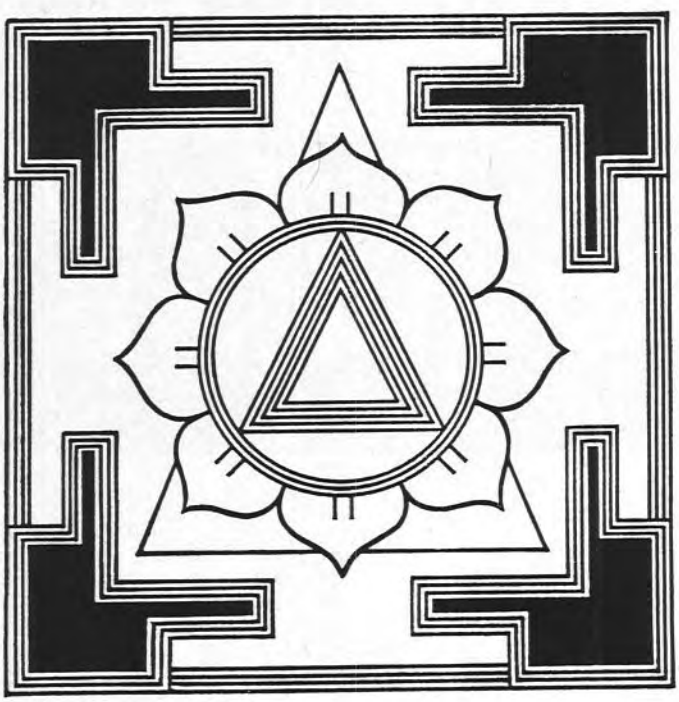

Fig. 24

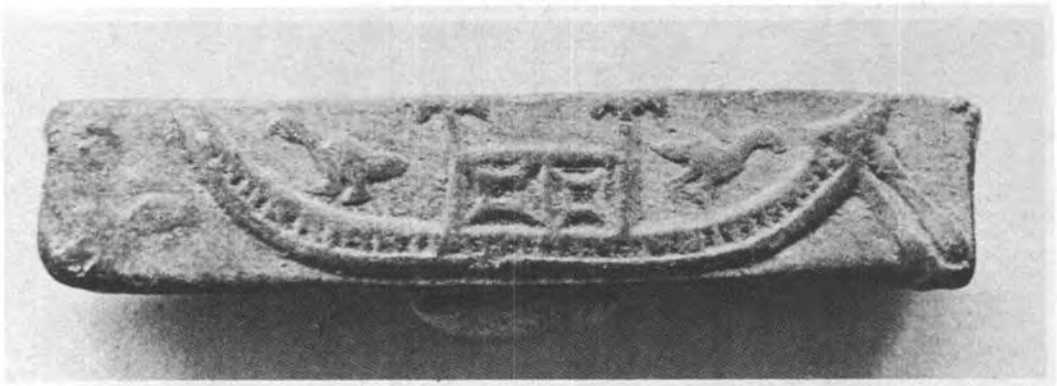

Fig. 25 a

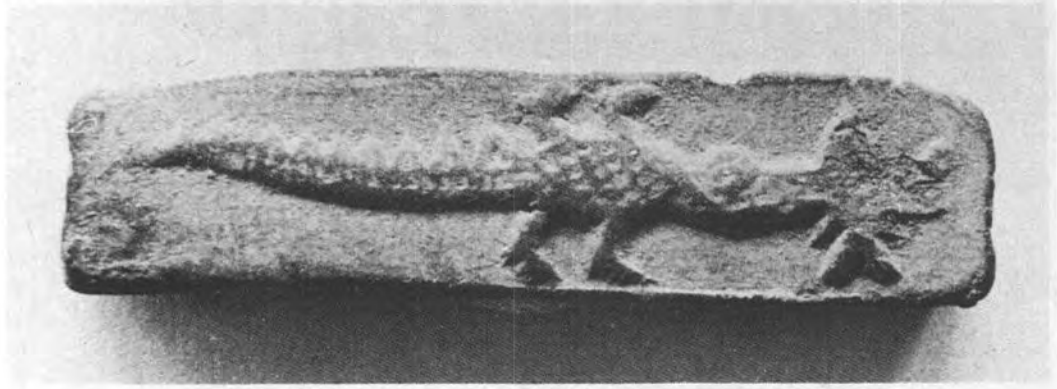

Fig. 25 b

Fig. 25 c

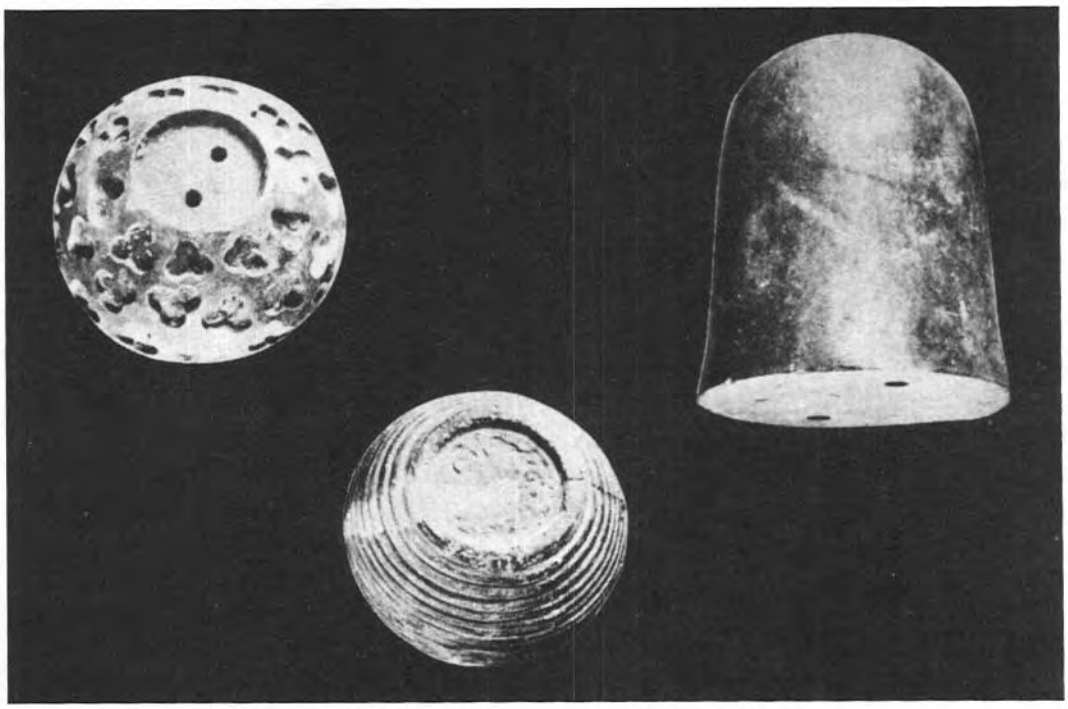

Fig. 26

Fig. 27 a

Fig. 27 b

Fig. 28

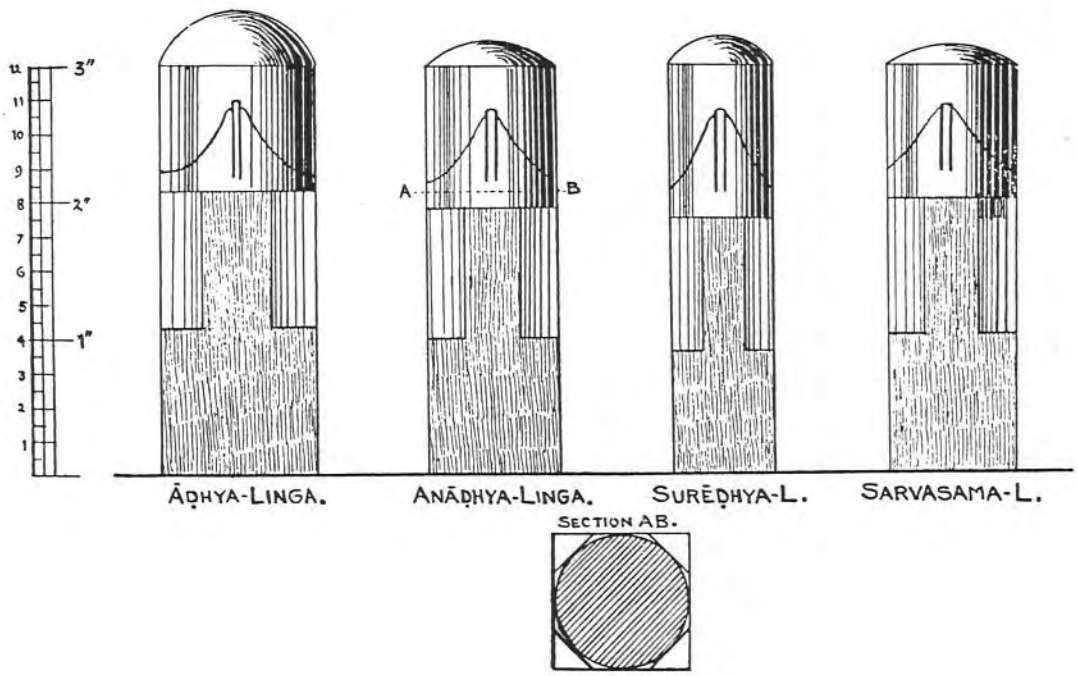
3"
2"
1"
A
B
ĀḌHYA-LINGA.
ANĀḌHYA-LINGA.
SURĒḌHYA-L.
SARVASAMA-L.
SECTION AB.

Fig. 29

Fig. 30

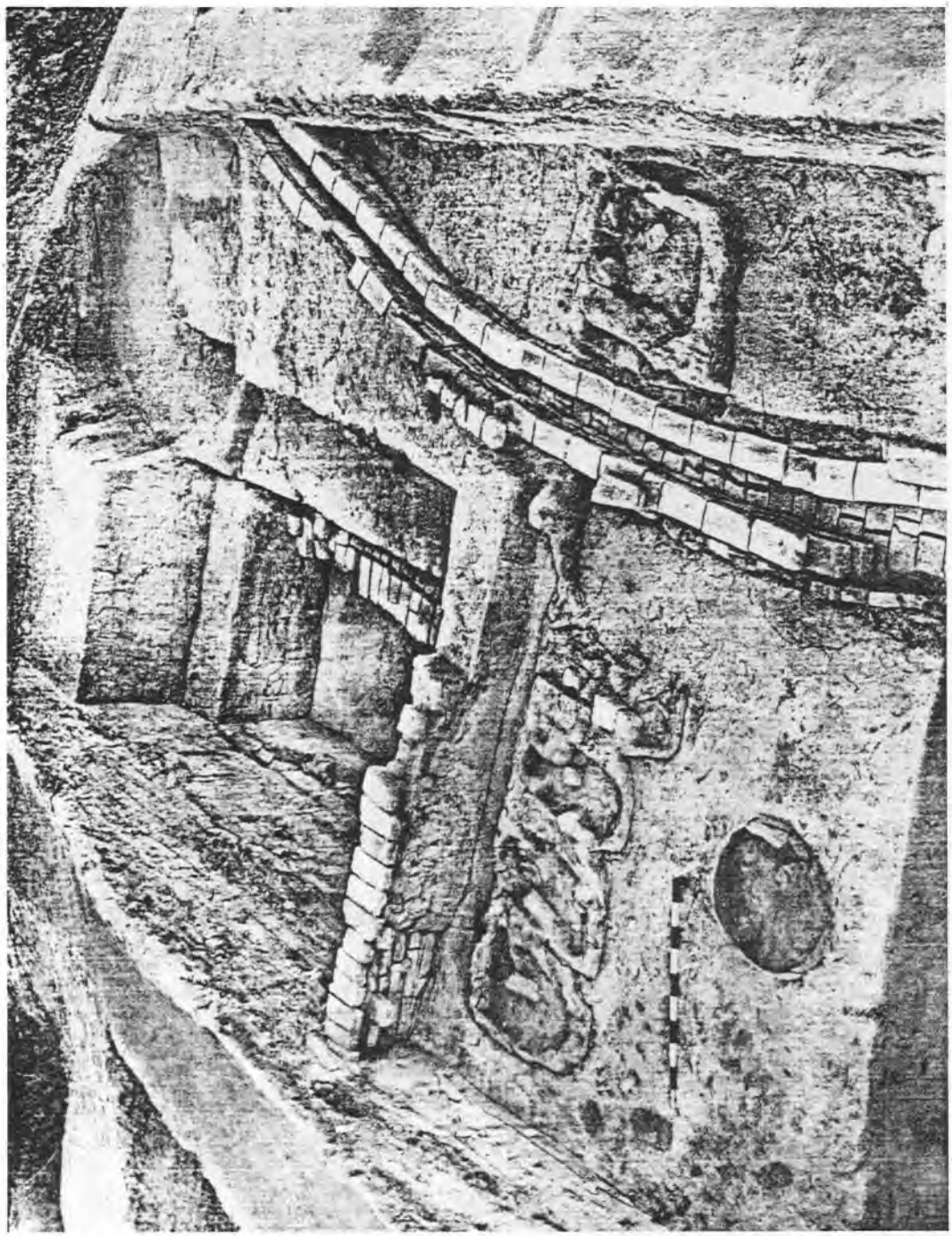

Fig. 31

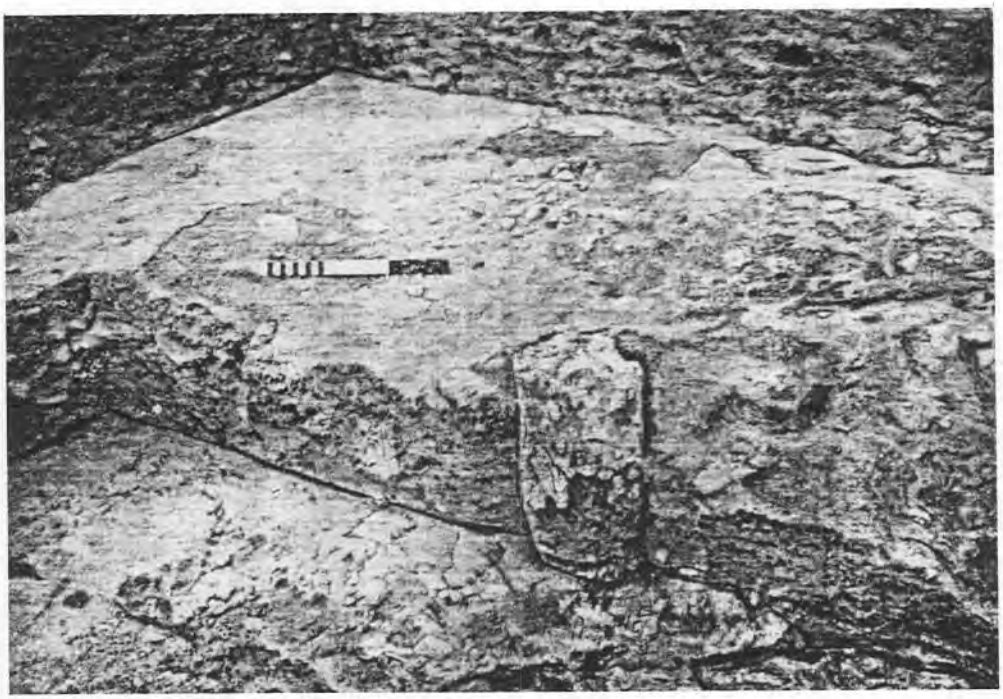

Fig. 32 a

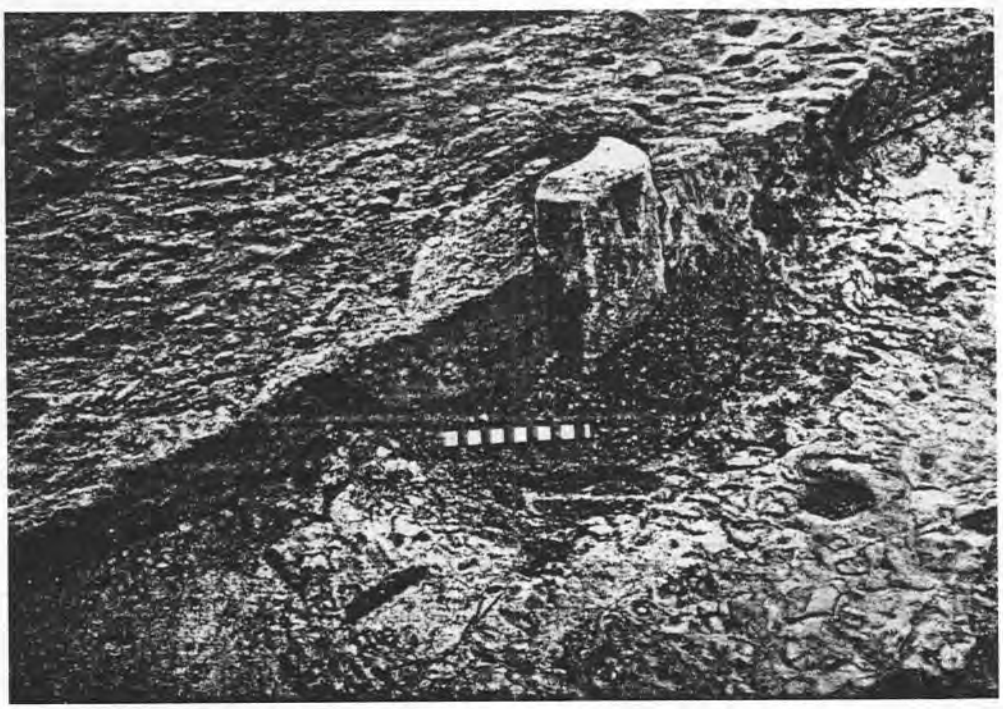

Fig. 32 b

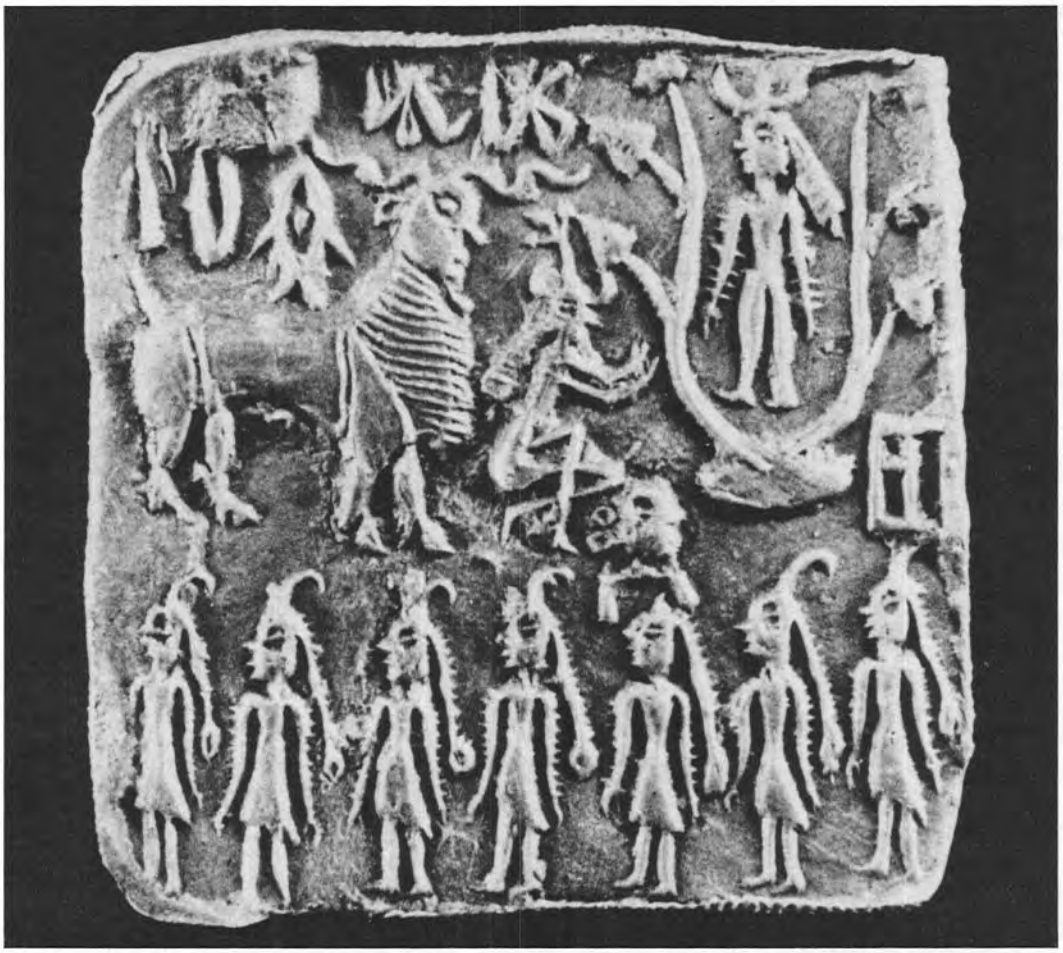

Fig. 33

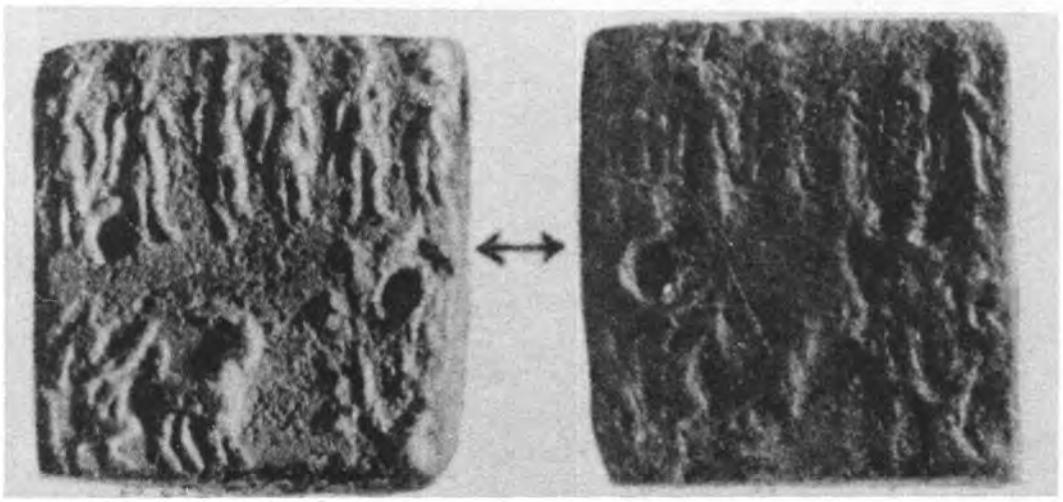

Fig. 34

Fig. 35 a

Fig. 35 b

Fig. 35 c

Fig. 35 d